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TEXT OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE REPORT TO FIFTH VCP CONGRESS

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[Text of VCP Central Committee Political Report to Fifth VCP Congress -- read by announcer; for an abridged account of this report as read at the opening session of the congress by VCP Central Committee General Secretary Le Duan, see the 29 March Asia & Pacific DAILY REPORT.]

[Text] Dear comrade delegates, esteemed guests. The years that elapsed between the fourth and the fifth congresses of our party were the first of a new stage entered upon by the Vietnamese revolution, with the birth of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, independent and unified. They were years of economic restoration, transformation and development, of cultural transformation and development in the light of the lines set forth by the party's fourth congress; they were a period of war to defend the fatherland and of struggle against a new enemy, Chinese expansionism and hegemonism. They were a period in which national independence and the positions of socialism in our country made a steady step towards further consolidation in a closer-than-ever association with the two fraternal countries on the Indochinese Peninsula, and with the Soviet Union and the world socialist community.

There were exciting and complex years in the unceasing advance of the Vietnamese revolution, a period in which our people won very great victories in the defense of the fatherland and initial achievements in the rebuilding of our country in accordance with the sacred testament of the great President Ho Chi Minh.

At present the tasks of our entire party and people before history are extremely heavy. Our fight is still very hard and complex; the enemy is stepping up his hostile policy against our people; the current economic and social situation presents serious difficulties.

The fifth congress of the party is to review the implementation of the lines of the fourth congress, give a correct assessment of the achievements, the shortcomings and the actual socioeconomic situation at present, analyze the causes of the successes and difficulties, set forth the strategic tasks of our revolution in the new situation, adopt decisions and measures to bring into play the strong points of our country, take our economy forward over the difficulties, consolidate national defense, maintain security and ensure an effective defense of the socialist fatherland.

Following is the activity report of the Central Committee to the congress.

Part I -- General Situation and Tasks

After the complete victory of our anti-U.S. resistance war in the spring of 1975, our entire people, filled with legitimate pride and new vitality, were animated by a common will to forge ahead and build the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

A brilliant success of our party and people has been the speedy reunification of the country on the state plane, the establishment of the system of proletarian dictatorship in the whole country and the carrying into effect of policies in all fields to speed up the reunification process, and to bring about a life of national concord and communion from north to south. For the first time, our fatherland has achieved real unity on the firm basis of national independence and socialism. All the subtle and wicked tricks carried out by imperialism for decades to destroy the unity of our nation and to make the Vietnamese degenerate, have met with failure. The U.S. imperialists dreamed of internal rebellions breaking out in our country after their withdrawal. But this did not happen. Political security has been maintained. A first step has been made to promote the working people's right to collective mastery. The overwhelming majority of those who worked for the other side have become equal members of the national community. Vietnam is one; the Vietnamese nation is one. The great strength of the reunified

country is being brought into play in the healing of the wounds of war, the rehabilitation of the economy, the building of socialism; and it has been given an outstanding manifestation through two wars to defend the country.

We have given a timely solution to pressing economic problems, speedily started the reconstruction of large rural areas in the south and economic and cultural establishments in the north which have been devastated by the war. Millions of people have been given assistance to return to their former homes, reunite with their families, and take part in national construction. Hundreds of thousands of unemployed people in newly liberated areas have been given jobs. Tens of thousands of victims of the depraved way of life and culture under the old regime have been rehabilitated. Production and the people's life have gradually returned to normal.

After 30 years of war, our people have no more cherished desire than to live in peace, independence and freedom to rebuild the country and their own life. However, the construction work had not been going on for long when our nation had to face new, extremely serious trials due to the hostile policy of the reactionaries in the Chinese ruling circles.

For a long time now, the Chinese leaders have cherished a scheme to annex Vietnam and the Indochinese Peninsula as a whole, so as to pave the way for the realization of their dream of expansion into Southeast Asia. While helping us fight against the U.S. aggressors -- which they could not fail to do when the United States was still their enemy -- the Chinese reactionaries gradually made preparations for this perfidious design. After they entered into collusion with the U.S. imperialists, their expansionist scheme became increasingly apparent. They occupied the Vietnamese Hoang Sa (Paracels) Archipelago. They attempted to perpetuate the partition of our country, and tried by every means to prevent our people from overthrowing the Saigon puppet administration, and completely liberating South Vietnam from U.S. domination. Since our people's victory in 1975, the Chinese reactionaries have even more brazenly carried out their policy of hostility toward Vietnam. They regard an independent, unified and socialist Vietnam as a major obstacle to their expansionist and hegemonic designs in Southeast Asia.

In their strategic calculations, the Chinese reactionaries intend to weaken Vietnam in all respects, and eventually to conquer our country with a two-pronged attack, up from the south and down from the north. They frenziedly embarked on this scheme right from the moment our country emerged from the anti-U.S. resistance, still scarred with wounds and confronted with countless postwar difficulties. They incited the stooge Pol Pot clique to widen and intensify the war along the southwestern border of our country in an attempt to invade large areas from Ha Tien to Tay Ninh, to create an opportunity for the reactionaries inside southern Vietnam to rebel and overthrow the revolutionary power. In coordination with these activities, China staged the so-called "Overseas Chinese Incidents," cut off aid, withdrew specialists, tried by every means to cause us political and economic troubles, and increased military pressure along our northern borders and in the eastern sea.

The Chinese leaders' hegemonic dream regarding Vietnam was noticed increasingly clearly by our party during the years of resistance against U.S. aggression. Nevertheless, proceeding from our policy of entertaining good-neighbor relations with China and securing a peaceful juncture for national construction, we took the initiative of proposing negotiations with China to resolve the disputes bequeathed by history. However, the Chinese rulers refused to enter into serious negotiations with us. Regarding the border conflicts started by the Pol Pot clique, we also tried patiently by every means to reach a peaceful settlement. However, with the design to annex our country, China incited the Pol Pot clique to reject all our good-willed proposals and to intensify their war of encroachment on Vietnamese territory, causing great human and material losses to our compatriots in the southwestern border areas. Realizing the schemes of the new enemy and the historic mission of our nation to face and defeat Chinese big-nation expansionism and hegemonism, our army and people, in light of the

resolution of the fourth plenum of the party's Central Committee, initiated full preparations to cope with a possible war of aggression started by China from the north, while determinedly dealing with a fitting riposte to the war of aggression waged in the south by the Pol Pot clique under orders from their boss; at the same time, we strongly supported the Kampuchea National United Front for National Salvation and the fraternal Kampuchean people in their endeavour to liberate their country and save the Khmer nation from genocide.

Early in 1979, the Chinese reactionaries openly started a large-scale war involving 600,000 troops across our northern border. With this criminal war, the reactionary clique in the Chinese ruling circles unmasked themselves as a direct and dangerous enemy of our people, and also a very wicked international reactionary force threatening national independence, peace and stability in Indochina and Southeast Asia as a whole. They revealed to the whole world their true colors as counterrevolutionaries, proponents of Great Han expansionism and hegemonism, enemies of socialism and national independence, entertaining the mad dream of becoming a center ruling over the whole world.

Holding high the tradition of dauntlessness and the staunch spirit of our nation, bringing into play the great might of the system of socialist collective mastery, our heroic armed forces together with our countrymen in the northern border provinces, and with the dedicated backing of the whole country, put up a gallant fight, defeated all the attacks of the aggressors, and compelled them to retreat in shame.

The victory in the two wars to defend the fatherland is one of enormous historic significance. Our people have inflicted an initial defeat on the wicked schemes of the Chinese authorities, safeguarded independence, freedom and socialism in Vietnam, fulfilled their international duty to the fraternal peoples of Kampuchea and Laos, and actively defended national independence and peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia as a whole. By their fight and victory, they have helped strengthen the three revolutionary currents of the time and the struggle of the world's peoples against imperialism and international reaction, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. Through this combat, our party and people have heightened their vigilance over the evil treachery of the reactionaries in the Chinese ruling circles. At the same time, we have come to realize that however truculent, cruel and perfidious the new enemy is, our people have enough spiritual and material forces to fight and know-how to defeat him if he ventures to start another war of aggression against our country.

Parallel to, and associated with, the glorious victory won in the war to defend the country, we have strengthened the militant alliance of the revolutions in the three Indochinese countries, whose mutually linked-up position has become unprecedentedly solid; we have also strengthened our militant solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, joined the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and broadened our cooperation with the other fraternal socialist countries. These achievements of strategic significance are a guarantee of paramount importance for our people in the successful building of socialism and the effective defense of the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

On the economic front, our people have recorded noteworthy achievements. We have striven hard to overcome the heavy aftermaths of the wars of aggression and consecutive natural calamities. On the whole, the war-ravaged establishments in agriculture, industry, communications and transport have now been restored; production has developed in a number of fields. An initial effort has been made to redistribute social labor. Thanks to continuing efforts on the foodgrain and foodstuffs production front, we have staved off famine in the areas heavily affected by natural calamities. Although the working people's living standards are still low, there have been improvements in some respects in many rural areas.

The new relations of production in the north have continued to be consolidated. In the south, the socialist transformation has scored initial results. The compradore bourgeoisie has been eliminated; some capitalist industry and trade has undergone

transformation. Small industry, handicrafts and small trade are being rearranged and reorganized. Some of the peasants in the Nam Bo provinces have been organized into production collectives; establishing collective farming among the peasants of the southern Trung Bo provinces is almost complete.

The production capacity of various economic branches has been further increased. With the rehabilitation and reclamation work, and the efforts to get more crops of the same soil, the acreage under cultivation has increased by nearly 2 million hectares. We have supplied agriculture with an additional 18,000 tractors of various types, raising the proportion of mechanized tilling to 25 percent of the total acreage under cultivation. Agricultural production has developed particularly since 1979. The acreage under afforestation has reached 580,000 hectares.

The production capacity in industry has been supplemented by an addition of 100,000 kilowatts of electric power, 2 million tons of coal, 500,000 tons of cement. Many projects under construction will be brought into operation during the 1981-85 period such as cement works, power plants, motor engineering plants, shipbuilding and repair facilities, sugar refineries, paper factories, spinning mills, etc. In communications and transport, we have restored or built nearly 1,700 kilometers of railways, 3,800 kilometers of highways, 30,000 meters of bridges, 4,000 meters of wharves, and acquired additional means of transportation. The fixed asset of the state in 1980 marked an increase of 10.2 thousand million dong over the 1976 figures.

We have recorded economic achievements under extremely difficult conditions; at the same time, we have had many shortcomings and mistakes in this field. Therefore, the results are still low in comparison with the requirements and do not correspond to the efforts made and the money invested. However, in the revolutionary context of the past five years, we affirm the significance of these achievements.

The resolution of the sixth plenum of the Central Committee, Resolution No 26 of the Political Bureau and the new policies adopted by our party and state in the economic field have begun to bring about new vigor and new progress in production. In the whole country, there are good trends of development in agriculture. In state-run industry, there have emerged a number of enterprises with typically high economic efficiency. Small industry and handicrafts have undergone a fairly good development. The economic management of the state, which has begun to take a correct direction, is creating new positive factors, and opening up the prospect of a better exploitation of the existing and latent possibilities to overcome difficulties and bring the economy forward in the coming years.

The cultural front has scored many achievements. Education has continued to develop. In the newly liberated areas, illiteracy has been liquidated on the whole. In our country, nearly 16 million people, or about one-third of the population, attend school. The building of a new culture has unfolded throughout the country; the southern provinces have done a lot of work to eliminate the old regime's legacy of reactionary, backward, depraved culture. The literary and artistic work has achieved some progress. In public health, physical education and sports, we have made efforts to forge ahead. The scientific and technological branches have done a good job in meeting a number of requirements of the economy and national defense. Both in the fight to defend the fatherland and in the work to build a new life, many examples have arisen of groups and individuals typical of the style and ethics of the new, socialist people.

All the great revolutionary achievements which our people have recorded through blood and sweat in half a century of struggle under the party's leadership are articulated in the new constitution. That is the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the constitution of the period of transition to socialism. The new constitution has institutionalized the party's line of socialist revolution and the working people's right to collective mastery, giving our people an important tool, a sharp weapon with which to carry on the building and defense of the new regime.

The past five years will go down in our nation's history as a stage of very glorious victories of the Vietnamese revolution. Overcoming countless difficulties, our people have taken the Vietnamese revolution forward to a new strategic position, more solid than before, and created greater possibilities for the defense of the fatherland and the successful building of socialism.

These victories are due to the steady leadership of our party, a party founded and steeled by President Ho Chi Minh, boundlessly faithful to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, to the nation's destiny and the people's cause. They bear out the correctness of the lines charted by the party's fourth congress and of the resolutions of its Central Committee. In the extremely serious situation confronting the country in the face of the new enemy's aggressive schemes and acts, our party has set forth resolute and clear-sighted strategic directions, and correct and timely decisions to take our revolution over an important turning point and ensure its continued development in the right direction.

The victories we have won in the past stage have once again highlighted the fine qualities of our nation and of our people's armed forces. Over thousands of years, our nation has never yielded to any brutal force. Since the August (1945) revolution, several succeeding generations have fought aggressors to save the country. Our people have not enjoyed peace for long before being confronted with a new aggressor. In response to the sacred call of the party, our entire people -- old and young, men and women, in the north and in the south, in the plains and in the highlands -- and our entire army have once again closed their ranks, fearless of hardships and sacrifices, put up a resolute fight to defend the sacred territory of the fatherland and extended wholehearted assistance to brothers and neighbors in danger. The staunch will of our people-workers, peasants and intellectual workers, and of the people's armed forces, also shines in the daily struggle to overcome postwar difficulties and trials and those encountered in the first stage of the advance to socialism. Great indeed are the heroic Vietnamese people!

Our congress warmly commends the compatriots from all ethnic groups in the country together with all cadres and fighters of the People's Army, People's Security Forces, militia and Self-Defence Corps who united closely, fought heroically and achieved outstanding exploits in the two wars to defend our country, writing another glorious chapter into the epics for the independence and freedom of the fatherland, and who are night and day defending our borders, territory, airspace, territorial waters and offshore islands, preserving political security, public order and social safety. Our congress lauds the various strata of working people who have made continuous efforts, recorded achievements in economic rehabilitation, transformation and development; cultural transformation and development; and who are tirelessly striving to overcome difficulties and ensure the country's continued advance along the socialist path.

Our victories in the current fight for self-defense and national construction are inseparably linked to the all-round cooperation and active aid of the Soviet Union, the special solidarity of Laos and Kampuchea, the wholehearted support of the other socialist countries, the sympathy and support of the world's revolutionary and peace forces.

From this rostrum, our congress expresses the most sincere and profound gratitude of our whole party and people toward the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet state, headed by esteemed Comrade L.I. Brezhnev; toward the great Soviet people; the trusted comrade and brother who has been extending to our people all-round, great and most effective assistance.

We express our warm feelings and deep gratitude to the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea, the brothers who have been fighting shoulder to shoulder with us for several decades now against the common enemy, and who, together with us, are carrying aloft the banner of independence, freedom and socialism on this beloved peninsula.

We express our heartfelt gratitude to the other fraternal socialist countries which have extended to our people's just cause a great and valuable assistance. We warmly thank all our friends in the world who have been standing at our people's side and generously supporting us.

Dear comrades, over the past five years, besides successes and achievements, there have been a great many difficulties, and on the economic front, our country is now being confronted with many acute problems. The results of the implementation of the economic plans in the five years 1976-1980 have not reduced the serious imbalances in our national economy. Production rises slowly while the population increases quickly. The national product is not in a position to meet the needs of social consumption; part of social consumption must be taken from loans and aid, and the economy is not able to accumulate reserves. There are shortages of food, clothing materials, and other essential consumer goods. Great tensions exist in the supply of energy and materials, in communications and transport. Many enterprises operate below capacity. There are still great disparities between financial revenues and expenditures, goods and money, exports and imports. Markets and prices are unstable. There are still large numbers of working people who are not being employed. The livelihood of the working people, especially workers, public servants and peasants in areas affected by natural disasters or enemy destructions, is fraught with difficulties. In the economic and cultural life, in the way of life and social safety, there have been prolonged negative manifestations; in some respect, the socialist positions have been encroached upon by capitalist and nonsocialist factors.

The deep-rooted cause of the difficulties in the economy and daily life is the following: Our economy is still primarily one of small production, and suffers extremely heavy aftermaths of prolonged war and of colonialism; of the past five years, nearly three were spent in war for national defense; new destruction was wrought while the old wounds had not healed; great natural disasters occurred in quick succession; the enemy permanently indulges in sabotage activities in many respects. Our economy has simultaneously to meet three very pressing basic requirements -- to satisfy the needs of national defense, to ensure the people's livelihood, and to build step by step the material-technological basis of socialism. Under these circumstances, difficulties and imbalances are unavoidable.

On the other hand, the difficulties have also stemmed from shortcomings and mistakes of the party and state agencies, from national down to grass-roots levels, in economic leadership and management and in the running of our society. In certain fields, the shortcomings and mistakes in leadership and management have been the main causes leading to, or aggravating, the economic and social difficulties in the past years. The resolutions of various Central Committee plenums have pointed out those shortcomings and mistakes.

Our party's fourth congress, proceeding from the major characteristic features of our country, set forth correct general and economic lines, which reflect the laws governing the period of transition from small production to socialism in our country. However, during the five years 1976-1980, there were shortcomings and mistakes in our grasping and understanding the actual situation, concretizing and implementing the party's lines. We also had very great shortcomings and mistakes in organizing and directing the implementation, which included the planning and managerial work.

We failed to fully realize the difficulties and complexities of the advance to socialism from a primarily small-production economy; we failed to fully realize the dimensions of the economic and social upheavals following a prolonged war; we failed to fully appreciate the difficulties and complexities in overcoming our weaknesses in economic and social management; we failed to fully foresee international developments which are unfavorable in some respects. Therefore, we have shown subjectiveness and hastiness in setting a number of targets too great in scale and too high in speed concerning capital construction and production development, especially at the outset. Hastiness is also apparent in our organizing too large cooperative farms in some regions, in our planning and starting the construction of a number of projects while lacking data from surveys and studies and lacking adequate preparations.

On the other hand, we have shown utmost conservatism and slackness. Many party and state bodies from national down to grassroots levels did not strictly and fully carry out the lines of the fourth congress and many resolutions of the Central Committee. They did not correctly assess the advantages and the possibilities, especially the existing potential of the country in labor, land, forest and sea resources, material-technical facilities, branches and trades turning out consumer goods and export items. They lacked the determination and the will to ponder over how to bring into play these advantages and possibilities. We have maintained, for too long, the mechanism of administrative, bureaucratic management based on the state financing system; we have been slow in changing the policies and regulations that hindered production. There is a very heavy tendency of reliance on others in production activities and economic management.

Subjectiveness, hastiness, conservatism and slackness which are all shortcomings and mistakes in concretizing and carrying out the party's lines, stem in the final analysis from failure to really grasp the laws governing the advance from small production to socialist large-scale production reflected in the party's lines, to fully grasp the realities, and from lack of economic knowledge. The shortcomings and mistakes in concretizing and carrying out the party's lines have been exposed in the working out of economic and investment structures which are not rational; in the failure to do thorough planning at all central, local and grassroots levels, to pay due attention to the planning from the grassroots level, to link planning with cost-accounting and socialist business operations, to attach importance to productivity, quality and efficiency. The shortcomings and mistakes showed themselves also in failure to pay attention to the bringing into play of the combined strength of all factors in the general and the economic line; especially in failure to bring into play the strength of the working people's collective mastery system, and of the mechanism of party's leadership, people's mastery and state's management, to achieve a good combination of the three revolutions, and to initiate a wide and deep revolutionary mass movement.

In organizing the implementation, our shortcomings and mistakes lie in bureaucratism, divorce from the realities, lack of sensitivity to life, conservatism, slackness, lack of responsibility in economic and social management.

The ideological and cultural front has been neglected. The education of party members and the masses about the struggle between the two paths has not been given due attention. In the struggle against psychological warfare, reactionary ideologies, depraved culture, the ideological and cultural work has lacked incisiveness and militancy.

There has been slowness in strengthening socialist legality; law and discipline have been relaxed. The struggle against law-breaking and social evils has not been resolute and thoroughgoing.

The party-building work has been marked by prolonged slackness in some respects, and has failed to keep abreast with the new tasks, especially those related to economic transformation and construction. In particular, the cadre work has suffered from great slowness and conservatism in all the links of training, assignment, employment and remuneration.

The above-mentioned shortcomings and mistakes prove that, on a number of problems, we have failed to hold firmly enough to proletarian dictatorship, whose comprehensive contents have been laid down in the resolution of the party's fourth congress. They are very serious shortcomings and mistakes. The Central Committee undertook a severe self-criticism before the congress, and proposes that after the congress there be a drive of profound self-criticism and criticism in the party, in state bodies at all levels, and that effective measures be taken to correct these shortcomings and mistakes.

Dear comrades, the past five years have been a specially significant period not only from the viewpoint of the dimensions of historic events. Their special value also lies

in the very useful experiences accumulated by our party. All the above-mentioned qualities, shortcomings and weaknesses should be pondered upon and analyzed by the whole party, and necessary lessons should be drawn so as to further improve and heighten the party's leadership and the state's management capacity, and ensure the fulfillment of the heavy tasks of the revolution in the period ahead.

In more than half a century of activity, our party has devoted a major part of its time and effort to the task of national liberation. Its historic mission has been in the past six years, and it is from now on to lead our entire people in successfully building socialism, taking our country forward step by step along the path to progress and civilization while constantly defending the fatherland and ensuring durable independence from our nation and an ever happier life for our people.

However, our socialist revolution unfolds in an international background of complex developments. The bellicose forces of imperialism, headed by U.S. imperialism, and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists are closely working hand in glove to rally forces in order to launch counterattacks on the world revolutionary movement, primarily on the Soviet Union and the socialist community. In Southeast Asia, the Chinese reactionaries and imperialist forces spearhead their attacks at Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea.

At present, the Chinese reactionaries, aided and abetted by the United States, are waging a kind of sabotage war against Vietnam on the military, political, economic and cultural front, using various forces and resorting to very wicked tricks. The enemy positions troops close to our northern borders, provokes partial armed conflicts, wages a war of encroachment aimed at gnawing away our border lands; at the same time, active preparations are made for a large-scale war of aggression. Through psychological and espionage warfare, he tries to undermine us politically, ideologically and organizationally, to sow division among the various ethnic groups, to drive a wedge between the people and the party; he covertly rallies the reactionary forces, organizes opposition activities in an attempt to foment disturbances and subversion. He engages in economic sabotage, tries to undermine production, connives with the imperialists in pursuing an embargo policy, and sows the venom of reactionary, depraved culture. He attempts by every means to tarnish the image of Vietnam in a bid to isolate our country in the international arena. Along with these anti-Vietnam schemes and acts, China also colludes with the United States, gathers together reactionary stooge forces, and entices ASEAN countries to oppose the revolution in Kampuchea and Laos. All these hostile actions are part and parcel of China's strategy against national independence and socialism in Vietnam, in all three Indochinese countries, a strategy designed to weaken and eventually to annex our country and this region as a whole.

Thus our country is now in a situation wherein it enjoys peace while having to face a kind of multisided war of sabotage waged by the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists acting hand in glove with the U.S. imperialists, and at the same time, having to stand ready to cope with the possibility of a large-scale war of aggression started by the enemy.

Proceeding from the above-mentioned situation, in the new stage of the revolution, our entire people and army under the party's leadership must closely unite and strive to carry out two strategic tasks: First, to build socialism successfully. Second, to stand combat-ready, to defend the socialist Vietnamese fatherland effectively. These two strategic tasks are closely interrelated.

It is only by building socialism with practical results and making our country stronger in all respects and in all circumstances that we can have enough strength to defeat any war of aggression started by the enemy, and effectively defend our fatherland. Conversely, it is only by strengthening national defense, defeating the enemy's multi-sided war of sabotage, and constantly ensuring a solid defense of the country that we can be in a position to build socialism successfully.

"All for the socialist fatherland, for the happiness of the people!" Such is the motto of our entire party, people and army, the lofty and sacred mission that all Vietnamese generations from now on must assume before the history of the nation.

While carrying out the above-mentioned two strategic tasks, we must always strengthen our militant solidarity and broaden our all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos and Kampuchea, with the other fraternal socialist countries, and extend constant support to the struggle of the peoples of all countries against imperialism and international reaction, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. That is an international obligation of our people, and also a task of strategic significance, which has a bearing on the vital interests of independence, freedom and socialism in our country and on the Indochinese Peninsula, on peace and stability in Southeast Asia and peace in the world.

The task of combat-readiness to defend the fatherland requires permanent vigilance against the war schemes and acts of the reactionaries in the Chinese ruling circles and of the bellicose imperialist forces; it requires the mobilization of the greatest efforts of our entire party, people and army to resolutely defeat the enemy's multisided war of sabotage, and also to ready the country in a constantly prepared state and strong enough to defeat the enemy in any contingency.

To meet this requirement, we must build an all-round, modern national defense by the whole people on the basis of a continuing consolidation and strengthening of the working people's collective mastery system in all fields. We must cater to the people's material and cultural life, maintain political security, public order and social safety, strengthen the people's political and moral unity of mind, and increase the unity of the various ethnic groups and the unity between the army and the people. We must closely combine economy with national defense, and national defense with economy, develop the defense industry step by step along with the strengthening of the economic potential of the country. These are elements constituting the combined strength of the defense of the fatherland.

It is necessary to build the people's armed forces in accordance with the viewpoint of people's war and national defense by the entire people; this is to include the main force and local troops in a balanced and integrated structure between the standing army and the reserve forces, with the required troop strength and an increasingly higher quality; the greatest importance is to be attached to the building of a strong militia and self-defense crops, especially in border areas; the various categories of forces are to form closely connected mobile forces and on-the-spot forces, making it possible to enjoy a solid mastery of the ground and to launch strong offensives. We must unceasingly strive to improve the country's defense posture, to have the entire country and each locality constantly prepared and able to seize the initiative in coping with any contingency. In particular, we must exercise increased guidance, and strive to build the northern border provinces and the Tay Nguyen provinces into well-defended ones with steady political conditions, developed economy and culture, mighty armed forces, and the ability to provide for on-the-spot logistics.

We must continue to achieve a good performance in the drive to build our army into a people's revolutionary army possessing a rock-like will to win, a strict discipline, a serious behavior, increasingly higher standards as a modern regular army, an unceasingly better state of combat-readiness, and constantly fulfilling all tasks assigned by the fatherland. We must take greater care of the material and spiritual life of the troops, consolidate the flesh-and-blood relationship between the army and the people; ensure a good implementation of the policies with regard to the families of fallen soldiers, to war invalids and soliders in active service. We must organize an appropriate and effective participation of the army in productive labor and economic construction. Comprehensive education work is to be undertaken to give the people and the youth a clear understanding of the law on military duty and prepare the younger generation for joining the armed forces and to steel themselves in the army's great school into new, socialist people.

To ensure political security, public order and social safety is a task of paramount importance to defeat the enemy's multisided war of sabotage. We must resolutely suppress the counterrevolutionaries, foil in time the schemes of the reactionaries of all kinds to raise

their heads, check and punish the enemy's sabotage activities in all fields, enforce law and discipline more vigorously, preserve the order of society and the safety of the people.

For a good performance of this task, we must build the People's Security Forces, which are to be pure, solid in all respects, and really constitute a sharp instrument of the state of proletarian dictatorship, absolutely loyal to the fatherland, the party, and the people; there must be fulltime modern regular forces which are to be politically steadfast, professionally proficient, endowed with fairly good scientific-technical standards, and with the required technical equipment; the People's Security Forces must also possess strong, part-time forces and a widespread mass basis to ensure an outstanding performance of all tasks.

It is necessary to coordinate the activities of all branches, services, mass organizations, forces, categories of armed forces under the leadership of the party committees to fight against the enemy's multisided war of sabotage; to achieve a good coordination between the security services, the Prosecutor's Office, and the judiciary bodies in the enforcement of the law; to achieve a good coordination between the People's Security Forces, the People's Army, militia, Self-Defense Corps, and the forces of the masses in the maintenance of political security, public order and social safety.

In particular, in border areas and minority-populated regions, patient efforts are to be made to mobilize the masses, to enable our countrymen to clearly identify the enemy. Resolute and timely actions are required to foil the enemy's schemes and acts to sow division among the various ethnic groups, instigate violent disturbances, and provoke trouble. We must ensure a good implementation of the policy of unity and equality among the various ethnic groups, step up the socialist transformation and construction with a view to raising the material and cultural living standards of the countrymen from all ethnic groups.

Our congress highly appreciates the great contributions of the People's Army, the People's Security Forces, the militia and Self-Defense Corps which have been fighting for over thirty years now under the glorious banner of the party. The people's armed forces will be forever a trusted instrument of the state of proletarian dictatorship in the defense of the fatherland and the preservation of our revolutionary gains.

While not slackening even for a minute in the task of consolidating national defense and defending the fatherland, our party and people should put on the front rank the task of building socialism. This is not only because socialism is the goal of our whole cause, but also because socialism and the solidity of the socialist system are guarantees for our fatherland's independence and freedom.

Our congress affirms the continued implementation of the line of socialist revolution and the line of building a socialist economy mapped out by the fourth party congress.

The line of socialist revolution is: "To hold firmly to proletarian dictatorship, promote the right to collective mastery of the working people; carry out three revolutions simultaneously -- the revolution in relation to production, the scientific-technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution, of which the scientific-technological revolution is the kingpin; step up socialist industrialization, which is the central task of the period of transition to socialism; establish the system of socialist collective mastery, build socialist large-scale production, develop the new culture, mold the new socialist people; abolish the regime of exploitation of man by man, do away with poverty and backwardness; unceasingly uphold vigilance, constantly consolidate national defense, maintain political security and social order; successfully build the Vietnamese motherland into a peaceful, independent, unified and socialist country; actively contribute to the struggle of the world's peoples for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."

The line of building a socialist economy is: "To step up socialist industrialization, build the material-technological basis of socialism, and take the economy of our country from small production to socialist large-scale production. To give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of developing agriculture and light industry, build industry and agriculture in the whole country into an

industrial-agricultural economic structure, build the central economy while developing the regional economies, combine the central economy with the regional economies into a unified national economic structure; combine the building of productive forces with the establishment and perfecting of new relations of production; combine economy with national defense; strengthen the relations of cooperation and mutual assistance with the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of socialist internationalism, and at the same time develop our economic relations with other countries on the basis of firmly maintaining our independence and sovereignty, and mutual benefit; turn Vietnam into a socialist country with modern economy, industry and agriculture, advanced culture, science and technology, firm national defense, and a civilized and happy life."

The general line and the economic line constitute a single, integrated whole in which there are some questions requiring special attention, namely: to hold firmly to proletarian dictatorship, promote the right to collective mastery of the working people, and carry out socialist industrialization.

The whole of these lines is an application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions of our country, and a carrying into effect of Lenin's thesis on the possibility of advancing to socialism bypassing the state of capitalist development.

The general line and the economic line guide all activities of our party, people and army throughout the transition period. All through this revolutionary process, we must have a correct understanding of the general line and the economic line, concretize them, and base ourselves on them to work out a socioeconomic strategy, development plans, policies and major measures both for the whole country and for specific branches and fields of activity, in keeping with the specific historical conditions of the country, with the needs and possibilities of our people in each stage.

The stage ahead, which includes the five-year period 1981-85 and stretches on to 1990, is a period of special importance.

We are building socialism against a background of complex international developments, while our country is confronted with serious difficulties, and an acute struggle is going on between the socialist and the capitalist path. We must realize that the building of socialism is in many respects a new work about which we do have not much experience. We do not in the least make light of our shortcomings and mistakes, but some of these require time to overcome.

On the other hand, we enjoy very fundamental advantages. Over the past five years, our whole party, party branches at all levels and party cadres and members have matured further. The party, realizing its qualities, shortcomings and weaknesses more clearly, grasping the lines more firmly and the realities more concretely, and determined to correct shortcomings and mistakes, is sure to gradually find correct and effective solutions so as to bring about a turn for the better.

Our system is by nature a superior one. Our people are very heroic, intelligent and creative, they thoroughly understand the difficulties of the country, they are undaunted in fighting and industrious in productive labor.

In national defense, we have powerful forces, more solid defense dispositions and more experience than before. In economic management, changes in the right direction have begun to appear; the new vigor and new factors are gradually rolling back the negative manifestations in production.

A great advantage of ours is our having available productive capacities not being used such as labor, land, branches, trades, and existing material-technical facilities, together with new productive capacities which will be added; we also enjoy the all-round cooperation and the assistance of the Soviet Union and the other members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and of fraternal Laos and Kampuchea.

The stage ahead is one of continuing socialist construction and socialist transformation, further strengthening the political and moral oneness of mind of the people, reducing and overcoming difficulties, stabilizing and improving the people's living conditions, stopping and eliminating the negative manifestations, achieving important progress in all fields, creating a new balance of the economy, and at the same time, preparing for even steadier and stronger steps forward in the next stage. Our party should lead the whole people in exploiting all existing and latent possibilities, closely combining the political, economic, cultural and social activities at all levels, in all branches, fanning a buoyant revolutionary movement involving tens of millions of people, arousing the creativity and noble qualities of the working people, bringing into play the combined strength of the socialist collective mastery system.

In the political field, we should establish and bring into full play the action of the mechanism of party's leadership, people's mastery and state's management in the whole country and in each branch, each region, each unit. We should strictly observe the new constitution; strengthen legality; preserve political security, public order and social safety; heighten vigilance; strive hard to defeat the enemy's multisided war of sabotage; continue to consolidate national defense; and stand combat-ready for an effective defense of the fatherland.

In the economic field, we should combine economic development, rearrangement and transformation, and in particular, concentrate our forces on the development of agriculture, taking it a step toward socialist large-scale production in a rational industrial-agricultural structure combining agriculture, consumer goods industry and heavy industry right from the outset. In this way, we shall meet the immediate requirements regarding the people's life, and the consolidation of national defense and security, and effectively overcome the difficulties and imbalances, create accumulation from within the economy, and make a good preparation to step up socialist industrialization.

In the ideological and cultural field, we should step up the building of the new culture and the molding of the new people, in close connection with the revolutionary requirements and in keeping with the economic possibilities, thereby giving a better impulse to the building of the new system and the new economy. We must intensify the struggle to do away with old social evils, vestiges of the neo-colonialist culture, and all influences of the reactionary ideology and culture.

The decisive factor for a successful performance of all tasks of socialist construction and national defense lies in raising our party's leading ability and strengthening its fighting capacity. We must strive to build up a really strong and pure party with increasing adeptness in economic and cultural leadership. We must make every Communist Party member worthy of being an outstanding militant of the working class and the nation, standing really at the forefront, setting examples, and enjoying the trust and affection of the masses. Acting upon the teachings of President Ho Chi Minh, our party must always be worthy of being "the leader and very loyal servant of the people," the organizer of all the successes of the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage.

Part II -- Main Socioeconomic Tasks for the Five Years 1981-85 and the 1980's as a Whole

Dear comrades, the experience of the 5 years 1976-1980 spells out the need to concretize the party's lines -- the general line of socialist revolution and the line of building a socialist economy in our country -- to map out a socioeconomic strategy for the first stage of socialist industrialization. To lay a basis for the study of the socioeconomic strategy, we shall, at this congress, define the economic and social objectives together with the major policies to ensure their attainment.

Basing ourselves on the party's lines and proceeding from the actual state of our national economy, we define the overall economic and social objectives of the 1980's as follows:

1. To meet the most pressing and essential requirements, gradually to stabilize, and eventually to improve to some extent the people's material and cultural life, first of all, to bring about a steady solution to the foodgrain and foodstuffs problem, to better meet the requirements in clothing, study, medical care, housing, moving, child care, and other essential consumption needs.
2. To carry on the building of the material-technological basis of socialism, with a view mainly to boosting agriculture, consumer goods production and exports, at the same time to increase the technical equipment for the other economic branches, and to make preparations for a more vigorous development of heavy industry in the next stage.
3. To complete the socialist transformation in the southern provinces, to continue perfecting the socialist relations of production in the north, to consolidate the socialist relations of production in the whole country.
4. To meet the defense requirements, to consolidate national defense, to maintain security and order. The achievements of the four overall objectives mentioned above requires a fundamental change in the actual state of our economy:

First, to make national production, progress from inability to ability to meet the social consumption demands and ensure accumulation from within the economy.

Second, to make the gross national product progress from being in volume and structure too low and too disproportionate to the requirements of the economy and the country to be able to meet an important part of the needs, including through the import of articles unavailable or in insufficient supply at home with the proceeds of exports.

To bring about a fundamental change in the actual state of the economy, we must manage to create a new productive force and a higher social labor productivity, even in the absence of a relatively developed big industry; to this end, we must correctly work out major economic and social policies.

1. The first and most decisive factor is a correct combination of industry and agriculture.

Our most valuable asset is labor: the biggest potential, which can be brought into play in the first place and which is also an object of labor capable of attracting the largest work force, is the land, including the forests and the sea; a very big capacity lies in branches and trade, including sideline occupations in the countryside, handicrafts, small industries and installations of consumer goods industry, which are in a position to undergo a strong development and to employ much labor. Our biggest motive force is the socialist collective mastery system, which makes it possible to combine labor with land, to ensure a vigorous expansion of branches and trades and to create a new productive force at an early date.

Therefore, what is the most important, what can and must be done first, is to achieve collective mastery for the sake of a rational and effective use of labor and land and a vigorous expansion of branches and trades at every establishment, in every locality and in the whole country; the purpose is to provide jobs for all working people, to exploit all lands, to develop all branches and trades both in width and depth, to achieve a higher social labor productivity, a greater value of gross national product and a wider variety of products. To this end, we must concentrate our forces on a vigorous development of agriculture, take it a step toward socialist large-scale production in a structure closely and correctly combining agriculture, consumer goods industries and heavy industry.

The taking of agriculture a step toward socialist large-scale production in the 1980's has the following main contents:

First, to arrange for agriculture to carry out the production work and the distribution of produce in accordance with the programs and plans of the whole country. Under these plans, agriculture must strive for a good performance of three tasks: to ensure food supplies for the whole society, to supply agricultural produce as raw materials for consumer goods industries and to create an important source of export items. The use of labor and land must be geared toward intensive cultivation, crop specialization and compound business operations with a view to developing crop growing, livestock breeding, food processing and other branches and trades in the countryside. A rational and scientifically grounded arrangement is to be made in the structure of crops, animals, branches and trades to put to rational use both agricultural and forest lands so that the environment can be well protected, every hectare of land can bring about high economic effectiveness and all branches and trades can yield big incomes. A rational division of labor must be carried out in each establishment and each locality to spur intensive farming and crop multiplication; at the same time, we should redistribute the work force on a nationwide scale to expand farming areas with the same zeal as in the fight against the enemy, under close guidance, and in accordance with firm plans, ensure effectiveness on the basis of a summing up of past experiences in land reclamation. We must strive to put to use within three 5-year plans all the 10 million hectares of agricultural land and 15 million hectares of forest lands and to grow an average of two crops a year on arable lands.

Second, to step up the scientific-technological revolution in agriculture, actively build material-technical facilities and take a step in modernizing agriculture, to step up the building of water conservancy projects, both for irrigation and drainage; to transform the soil and fit up the lands, widely apply biological achievements to crop growing and livestock breeding; to broaden chemicalization, make the most of the available sources of organic fertilizers while trying by every means to secure more chemical fertilizers; to achieve a good performance in the fight against pests and epizootics; to carry out mechanization with steps suitable to each locality, to achieve a good combination of mechanized means with manual methods and semimechanized means, to ensure economic effectiveness; to develop the processing industry, ensure good storage and timely transportation. To this end, we must bring into play our country's material and intellectual possibilities, especially the capabilities of heavy industries and, at the same time, import with the proceeds of exports those technical materials unavailable or in insufficient supply at home.

Third, to complete the socialist transformation with correct forms and steps, to achieve a steady development of the state sector in appropriate areas, to trade in crop plants, and animals for breeding and to undertake fitting links in agriculture, to attain importance to the consolidation of the state farms, whose productivity, quality and effectiveness are to be increased, to make them really worthy of their role as examples in production and management, to complete the cooperativization of agriculture, to strive to perfect the cooperatives and production collectives to raise the quality of the collective sector; to encourage the development of the household economy in the right direction, to establish and broaden the socialist economic relations directly linking the state to cooperatives, production collectives and individual peasants, those between industry and agriculture, town and country, through state plans, economic contracts, state purchase of agricultural produce and sale of industrial articles and various forms of production and business association.

Fourth, to take the district as a most important ground for carrying out the three above-said contents. The economic structure of the district is an economic structure in which grassroots units are cooperatives, agricultural production collectives, small industrial enterprises, and which may include state farms, afforestation yards of the district, and production units of other kinds. To actively build the districts along the line of combining agriculture and industry -- or forest, agriculture and industry, or fishery, agriculture and industry depending on the specific conditions of the various kinds of districts -- that is to say, to take the district as a ground for division of labor and reorganization of production, to put to good use labor, land, forest and sea, to carry out intensive farming, crop specialization, to develop crop growing and

livestock breeding, to expand branches and trades; to organize the association of cooperative farms, handicraft units, small industrial installations and other production units jointly built up by cooperative farms, with a number of production establishments, technical stations, stores for supplying materials, purchasing agricultural produce and selling consumer goods, set up by the state in the districts. The economic structure of each district takes shape from its economic conditions, its orientation for production, specialization and compound business operations, from the requirements and possibilities of the cooperative farms and agricultural production collectives; at the same time, the building of the district's economic structure must be linked to the provincial and national programs of economic development. Therefore, the building of the district cannot be separated from the building and consolidation of the cooperative farms and agricultural production collectives; it must aim at meeting the requirements of its population, developing exports and contributing to national construction, along with the building of the economy. It is necessary to develop education, culture, medical care, physical education and sports, achieve a good organization of the material and cultural life and build the new countryside. We must combine economy and national defense of the motherland. The building of districts in keeping with the above-mentioned contents is a business of the state, of economic and cultural establishments and of the entire population of the districts concerned. In all fields, it is necessary to strictly carry out the policy providing for "joint efforts of the state and the people." Active contributions of the people in labor, intelligence and talent, materials and capital are to play an extremely important role. We must take a step to review the building of the district and perfecting of the district level, draw experiences to unfold the construction work in all districts, while concentrating the forces of the state in the first place on the districts in key areas regarding foodgrain, foodstuffs, important industrial crops and those turning out high rates of marketable produce, especially of export items, to attach great importance to the training of cadres for the districts.

To take agriculture to socialist large-scale production does not mean in any way to develop agriculture in isolation but instead as part of a structure that closely and correctly combines agriculture with industry. The development of agriculture must be combined with that of consumer goods industries, both in width and depth, from food-processing and light industries to small industry and handicraft branches in town and country. To boost consumer goods production is an extremely important orientation to meet the material and cultural needs of society, broaden the domestic market, create an important source of exports and expand the market outside the country. To boost consumer goods production is to increase the value of agricultural produce, provide the state with commodities for exchanges with the peasants, stimulate agricultural production, broaden the division of labor, create more jobs, develop the economy, increase social labor productivity, the national product and national income in the present stage. To list and classify all branches and trades, achieve a rational division of labor and cooperation in the whole country, to bring into play the capacity of central and local industries, small industry, handicraft, and use each individual handicraftman with a view to developing production in major cities, provincial capitals and rural areas. Small industry and handicrafts in our country have a great potential. They are an important part of consumer goods industry. They have been and are being transformed and reorganized into a component of the socialist economy. They hold an important position in the national economy during a long period, especially in this first stage. As an immediate step, to pay due attention to increasing technical equipment, improving techniques, producing and supplying raw materials, using economic levers, giving appropriate encouragement to groups and individual working people, in order to achieve a vigorous development of small industry and handicraft, from traditional trades to newly appearing ones.

To develop agriculture and consumer goods industry is to lay the foundation for the development of heavy industries. On the other hand, to develop agriculture and consumer goods industries, we must turn to good account the available industrial capabilities, rationally build the necessary heavy industries to supply electric power, coal, gasoline, fertilizers, pesticides, basic chemicals, ordinary tools, semi-mechanized and mechanized

tools, building materials; at the same time we must very actively exploit a number of heavy industry products, so as to increase the sources of materials and export goods and supply additional technical equipment to other economic branches and to heavy industry itself. With regard to the needs of agriculture and consumer goods production which the production of our heavy industry is not in a position to meet adequately, agriculture, consumer goods industry and heavy industry itself must turn out export goods to pay for the necessary imports.

While steering heavy industry principally and primarily to the purpose of boosting agriculture and consumer goods industries, we should actively carry out all necessary preparations with the utmost importance being attached to more intensive geological surveys, so that when favorable conditions are presented, we can start the construction of a number of key heavy industrial projects, especially in engineering and steel. For we shall never forget that the only material-technological basis of socialism is a mechanized large industry capable of transforming agriculture and providing new technical equipment to the whole national economy.

To further the development of agriculture, consumer goods industry and heavy industry, to meet the requirements of production, construction, national defense, security and the people's life, communications and transport must be improved and strengthened in all respects: organization, management, guidance, material facilities, technical equipment, unloading and transportation means; the postal communication network must be consolidated, developed and improved.

Thus, in the five years 1981-85 and in the 1980's as a whole, it is necessary to concentrate forces on a vigorous development of agriculture, to regard it as a primary front, to take it a step further to socialist large-scale production, to strive to boost consumer goods production and to carry on the building of a number of important branches of heavy industry; to combine agriculture, consumer goods industry and heavy industry in a rational industrial-agricultural structure. These are the main contents of socialist industrialization in the immediate stage.

That is precisely "to give priority to the rational development of heavy industry on the basis of developing agriculture and light industry", create a new productive force in this first stage; and, at the same time, prepare preconditions and forces for stepping up in subsequent years socialist industrialization, whose main content will be the building of a modern industrial-agricultural structure with a comparatively developed heavy industry network as the core.

2. To correctly combine the building of the central economy with a vigorous development of local economies in a unified national economic structure. For a good performance in this respect, it is necessary to map out a chart of overall development and distribution of productive forces. What should be stressed at present is the need to overcome impediments at an early date, define a rational structure for local economies, achieve a smooth coordination of central and local economies and a correct observance of the principle of combining branch management with local and territorial management. We must take strong steps toward broader initiative and greater responsibility for the local authorities in the areas of planning, budget, materials, labor, personnel, organization, etc. The relationship between the central and local levels must correctly embody the principle of democratic centralism with the higher and lower levels being united and closely linked together to eliminate bureaucratic centralization and correct manifestations of dispersion and disregard for the organization. All this aims at creating conditions for a vigorous development of local economies and a ceaseless strengthening of the economic-technical branches.

We must step up the transformation and building of Hanoi, the political center of the whole country, and Ho Chi Minh City into big economic, cultural, scientific, technological and external trading centers. The building of these two centers must rely on the efforts of the two cities themselves to forge ahead; at the same time, it must be made an important task in the state plan, in the program of activity of the

Council of Ministers. In particular, the building of the capital city is a common responsibility of the whole country. It is necessary to involve in it all branches, all forces. It is necessary to rely on the strong points of the two cities regarding skilled and educated workers, available material-technical facilities, and scientific and technological potential; to strive hard to develop industry, small industry and handicrafts and turn out large amounts of consumer goods and relatively-high-technology products, with a view to meeting the needs of the whole country and expanding exports.

To strive hard to achieve a noteworthy development in various respect of the mountain provinces and districts in the north and in Tay Nguyen and of the mountain districts in the central coastal provinces. To this effect, to make the most of on-the-spot labor in combination with the sending in of work forces from other areas so as to enhance the possibilities of the mountainous region. To combine the development of agriculture with that of forestry and the gradual building of industry; to attach particular importance to expanding communications and transport and developing education, medical care and culture in order to raise the material and cultural living standards of the various ethnic groups; to combine economic building with the consolidation of national defense and the maintenance of security. For this purpose, we must thoroughly carry out the handing of forests and forest lands to districts for management and to cooperatives for exploitation according to the state's programs, plans and laws. The mountainous provinces and districts must turn to good account their strong points, achieve their rise from agriculture and forestry, use the lands on the line of combining agriculture and forestry, correctly organize specialized production along with compound business operations, do away with economic self-sufficiency, expand economic relations between the highlands and the lowlands, boost export-import trade, thereby meeting the food, clothing and other daily life needs of the local population, and making ever greater contributions to national construction and defense. The observance of the above-mentioned development orientation will limit and eventually put an end to forest destruction and bring about conditions to really achieve sedentary abode and farming for the local population. In its investment policy, the state must pay due attention to the mountain provinces and districts; at the same time, it is necessary to insure and enforce other appropriate policies to resolve such particular problems of the mountain areas as environmental protection, use of the work force, exploitation of special products, development of communications, cultural development, training, assignment and remuneration of cadres, and so forth.

3. To ensure the correspondence between the productive forces and the relations of production, constantly and closely combine the transformation of the relations of production with the reorganization and development of production.

To continue to push agricultural cooperativization in the Nam Bo provinces, and step by step bring into play the effect of cooperativization in taking agriculture to socialist large-scale production and building the new countryside. To overcome sluggishness, hesitation, inaction in directing the cooperativization movement; on the other hand, avoid hastiness, oversimplification and massive and formal undertaking. To carry on land readjustments so that all working peasants can have land to till; in those places where transformation is yet to be carried out, such readjustments are to be conducted at once with a view to creating preconditions for cooperativization. Along with the setting up of production collectives and cooperative farms, marketing and credit cooperatives are to be developed.

In the building and consolidation of cooperative farms and production collectives, we must sum up and popularize in time the experiences of advanced units of consolidating the ownership system and improving the management and distribution systems. To achieve a good management of the farm lands, lay down a stable size for cooperative farms and production collectives, carry out adequate size readjustments where really necessary, apply widely and perfect the form of assignment of delivery quotas to the tillers, either in group or in individual capacity. To consolidate and assist medium and weak units to enable them to catch up with advanced ones. To reorganize production and consolidate fishing cooperatives in the north, and set up fishing collectives and fishing cooperatives in the south.

With regard to private capitalist industry, we must work out good policies and organizations to use and transform it in the form of joint state-private enterprises or other forms. The capitalist component is to be radically eliminated in trade. With regard to small industry, handicrafts and service branches, we shall resort to collective forms of operation or maintain the individual form, depending on the particular features of each trade. To gradually shift small traders unnecessary in circulation to production and other service activities. Thus during a definite period of time, there are three economic components in the north -- state-run, collective and individual -- and five in the south -- state-run, collective, joint state-private, individual and private capitalist.

The state must unceasingly consolidate and strengthen the state economy and support, encourage and strengthen the collective economy to the greatest extent. With appropriate policies and organizational forms of production, it is to strengthen its close ties with collective and individual economic organizations and take care to associate the different economic components under the direction of the state economy in furtherance of the interests of socialist construction and socialist transformation along the line of the state plans.

In the process of economic transformation and construction, we must correctly resolve the relationship between large, medium and small scales; between mechanized, semi-mechanized and manual techniques, achieve a skillful combination suitable to each branch, trade and locality, ensure a rational size and an appropriate technique for each unit; and attach greater importance to medium and small scales and to semi-mechanized and manual techniques.

4. To combine the economy with national defense and national defense with the economy according to a basic and long-term orientation, and, at the same time, provide in advance for timely and appropriate contingency readjustments to ensure victory over the enemy. We must work out a mobilization plan to get the national economy ready to oppose a war of aggression.

The planning of economic zones, the redistribution of labor and productive forces, the building of economic-technical branches and the development of local economies must aim at bringing about a unified strategic disposition so as to be master in both the fields of economy and national defense on a nationwide and a local basis. Both central and local economies should care for a good solution to the problem of on-the-spot logistics for national defense.

To strengthen the defense industry in an appropriate manner; and at the same time, turn to account its capacity to contribute to economic development.

While unceasingly increasing their fighting capacity and combat readiness, the army must organize production to provide for part of the needs in those units in a position to do so; at the same time it is to mobilize the capacity of the defense industry to participate in appropriate economic activities and use part of its forces to assume the building of a number of projects. While participating in economic construction, the army must learn techniques and the managerial business so as to ensure productivity and effectiveness.

5. To combine economic development at home with the expansion of economic relations with foreign countries. In view of its special importance, the external economic work must be strengthened. To firmly grasp the strategic principle and the main orientation in foreign economic work, namely: to broaden and strengthen all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, to develop cooperation with the other members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance in the direction of socialist economic integration, to take an active part in the process of international division of labor, specialization and cooperation in production in appropriate fields; to broaden all-round cooperation and mutual assistance with Laos and Kampuchea in order to develop the economic potential of each country; at the same time, to widen in an appropriate way our economic relations

with countries outside the socialist community. To attach the utmost importance to economic effectiveness; to make good use of foreign loans and aid; to strive to bring into play the enormous effect of the assistance extended by the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries and endeavor to fulfill our obligations, to promote international credibility far and wide; resolutely to overcome any tendency to wait for and rely upon external aid.

In all our economic activities, a task of strategic significance of our entire party and people is to strive to increase exports for purposes of imports. We must promote export to import, with its proceeds, technologies, equipment, machinery, spare parts and materials, for the sake of the scientific-technological revolution and socialist industrialization. Exports must effectively contribute to creating a new balance of the economy, a new economic structure, and as an immediate step, provide gradually for the requirements of production and daily life. We must strive for a rapid increase of export turnover, gradually narrowing down the gap between exports and imports, and eventually balancing them. We must try by every means to use our abundant work force and exploit all possibilities regarding land, forest, sea resources, branches and trades, material-technical facilities with an eye to a quick increase of the sources of export items. We must pay special attention to tropical agricultural produce, forestry, sea and animal husbandry products, some items of consumer goods, some products of heavy industry, and a number of minerals. In addition, we must try to widen tourism and other services to earn foreign currencies. We must pursue a policy of thrift in home consumption in order to increase the export of exportable items. While seeking an all-round development of export goods, we must strive to turn out main export items of high value, in big and stable quantities, with steady markets.

Our policy provides for state monopoly over foreign trade and unified management of this work by the central authority. Pursuant to this principle, every branch, locality, establishment having a responsibility and duty for export is to strive to provide by its own means for its import requirements and actively contribute foreign currencies to the central authority. The various branches, localities, major economic organizations -- such as companies and industrial combines -- are entitled to conduct export-import transactions in accordance with the principles, policies and unified management regulations of the state. In this spirit, the state should enact appropriate policies and regulations to encourage the expansion of export-import activities and ensure their good handling. An important orientation of our state is to organize effective cooperation with foreign countries with a view to quickly increasing our export capacity.

6. To broaden division of labor, redistribute and put to good use the work force in the whole country to increase labor productivity. This is a requirement and also a main content of the socioeconomic plans. To achieve a broadened division of labor on a local basis, along with a redistribution of the work force, on a nationwide basis, combine labor with lands, natural resources and other means of production available, achieve a vigorous expansion of trades and professions, with a view to providing jobs for all working people and quickly creating a bigger volume of products. To take steps to encourage every working man in every establishment to enhance his revolutionary ardor and sense of collective mastery, improve his skills, promote initiatives, rationalize production, improve techniques; and strive to turn out more and better products with an equal or even reduced amount of material means. To rely on the strength of the collective mastery system, on a correct planning, an application of appropriate incentive policies, and effective measures of organization and mobilization, and in particular on a stepped-up socialist emulation movement, to bring about a drastic change with regard to individual and social labor productivity.

In the years 1981-85, we must broaden the division of labor, turn to good account the work force locally available at district level and move a big work force from densely populated areas, towns and cities, to sparsely populated districts to join the local people in developing production, to build new economic zones in agriculture and forestry and build important water conservancy, communications and industrial projects.

To strive to achieve a notable increase in labor productivity in every economic establishment, especially in industry and agriculture. To resolutely streamline the state bodies and move an important part of cadres and employees from higher levels to reinforce the grass roots or to take part in production work.

The existing technical work force must be better managed and used; at the same time, we must strive for a better performance in the training of a contingent of technicians and skilled workers of increasingly higher quality and with an increasingly more integrated and rational structure.

We must decide and put into effect a correct population policy, in which an extremely important work of strategic significance economically and socially, requiring the utmost concern and direct care of all party organizations and administrative bodies at all levels is to continue stepping up the family planning campaign. To change a number of specific policies and regulations which are no longer appropriate, amend and issue relevant policies and exercise very tight and resolute guidance over their implementation in order to bring down the population increase rate to a rational level.

7. To step up scientific and technological work. This is a very important content of the scientific-technological revolution, the kingpin of the three revolutions. Nowadays high scientific and technological standards, particularly a speedy application of scientific achievements, the creation of high technologies in production, constitute one of the factors determining the economic might of a country. With regard to our country, the requirements about productivity, quality and efficiency in economic construction and management, development in depth, thrift, the manufacturing of new products and substitutes, especially in the field of consumer goods, export items, engineering, metallurgy, chemicals, building materials are posing tremendous demands on science -- natural sciences, applied sciences, social sciences -- and technology. To meet these demands, we must master those scientific and technological problems that are necessary for our country. We must work with the will to strive to master at any cost what is needed by the country.

To link the scientific and technological activities to production, daily life and national defense. To achieve a good performance in scientific research. To bring into play in a fitting manner the role of every science; at the same time closely combine social sciences, natural sciences and applied sciences; attach great importance to the organization of the collaboration and coordination among various sciences through interbranch activities for purposes of joint research to resolve important scientific and technological problems. In particular, good work is required in widely and speedily applying scientific achievements and technical progress to production, management and other aspects of socioeconomic life.

To combine the research work of the scientific and technological institutions with the experiences of the broad masses of scientific workers, technicians, managerial cadres and working people in farms, factories with a view to carrying out integrated programs according to state objectives, especially those catering to agriculture, consumer goods production and exports. Scientific and technological progress must become a main content of socioeconomic plans in all branches, at all levels. The mechanism of economic management and planning must be renovated along the lines of requiring and encouraging the application of scientific achievements and technological progress; the scientific research institutes are to be rearranged and perfected; the socioeconomic effectiveness of scientific activities is to be enhanced. To make good use of the assistance and cooperation of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries in the field of science and technology and, at the same time, endeavor to establish relations in this field with countries outside the socialist community.

To set in motion an ebullient mass movement to master science and technology, quickly apply scientific achievements and technological progress, observe technical processes, procedures, standards and norms, introduce technical innovations and improvements, and raise professional knowledge and skills. To achieve a good performance in scientific

and technological management; take constant care to make good use of the scientific workers, technicians and millions of skilled workers, to promote their ability, and give them continued political and ideological education and professional training. In this spirit, universal general education is not only a matter of raising the cultural living standards, it has become an increasingly pressing requirement of the economy itself.

8. To correctly resolve the relationship between accumulation and consumption and meet both demands: To ensure the present requirements of daily life and national defense and security and to build the material-technological basis of socialism in order to improve the living conditions and meet the requirements of national defense and security at a higher level in the future. For satisfactory resolution of both consumption and accumulation, two equally pressing requirements now, the fundamental way is to boost production, unceasingly increase labor productivity and at the same time to practice strict thrift.

To practice thrift is a major and long-term national policy which should be made the subject of specific policies, regulations, target figures and measures. To practice thrift in all fields: Capital construction, production, daily life, national defense and security spending, and administrative expenses. To practice thrift in all respects: capital, materials, energy, raw materials, equipment, machinery, consumer goods, time and work force. To practice thrift in social and individual consumption and in the spending of the state, collectives and people. Although the living standards of our working people are still low, we should clearly realize that we are consuming beyond what we can produce. This is unacceptable. We must live in accordance with the results of our own labor, and refrain from consuming beyond the limits permitted by production. We must ensure the requirements of daily life, but we must know how to endure difficulties to safeguard national independence and freedom, and set aside an appropriate rate of accumulation for purposes of achieving enlarged reproduction and building the material-technological basis of socialism.

Each establishment, each locality, each branch must strive to secure accumulation to mobilize and put to good use all sources of capital, all accumulation possibilities of the central, local and grassroots levels, of the state and the people, concentrate capitals for key branches, key areas, key projects as laid down in the socioeconomic strategy and the state plans.

9. To establish a new, socialist order on the distribution and circulation front so as to help stabilize the living conditions, boost production, bring about a turn for the better in the economic and social situation. To bring into play the action of distribution and circulation as a lever and a bridge regarding agriculture and industry, town and country, state enterprises, collectives and individuals, central, local, and grassroots levels. To highlight the active role of distribution and circulation in stimulating production and serving consumption. Distribution and circulation must take an effective part in the struggle between the two paths, expanding the positions of socialism, rolling back those of spontaneous capitalism, regulating the incomes of the various strata of people in a fair and rational way. It is necessary to closely combine economic administrative and educational measures with economic measures being at the root.

A problem of prime importance is to increase the commodities funds, to concentrate goods, primarily the important ones, into the hands of the state. To this end, the state must unceasingly strengthen the state-run economy and the state establishments must vigorously develop production and strictly abide by the discipline of handing over their products to the state. The state must have a policy to boost production and extend its hold on the goods from the collective and individual economic sectors through taxation in kind, purchases pursuant to mandatory obligations and two-way contracts. All branches, all levels must fight with all their forces against theft and waste of state commodities and materials.

To enact at an early date an active financial and monetary policy suited to the current stage. The state must use finances and money and effective instruments for economic transformation and development, bring into play the role of the financial and banking services in supervising and controlling economic activities, and unceasingly raising the effectiveness of investment and production capitals. The state must broaden and mobilize the sources of financial revenues from the state-run, collectives and other economic components, strictly handle the financial revenues, and expenditures, it must have a hold on the currency, do a good job in monetary circulation, improve credit work and accounting through the bank, balance the budget, gradually narrow down and eventually put an end to overexpenditures in cash.

To carry on the readjustment of the price system in a timely and steady manner so as to bring into play the effect of prices on boosting production, rearranging the economy, and stabilizing the people's life. Through readjustments rationally succeeding one another, and pursuant to carefully studied plans, and through the implementation of an integrated set of relevant policies and measures, we shall step by step bring about a new system of prices, carry out a price reform suited to the home and international situation at present and in the forthcoming period. While there is still imbalance between supply and demand, we must apply a mechanism of both stable and flexible prices. To achieve a distribution of responsibility in the management of the system of prices in the whole country, highlight to the utmost the need for a discipline in prices.

To continue improving the wage system. To diligently study various alternatives and actively create conditions for a wage reform in close connection with the price reform and the improvement of other links on the distribution and circulation front on the basis of good developments in production. As an immediate step, to strive to guarantee the real wages, apply the principle of distribution according to labor, closely link wages with labor productivity, correctly broaden the system of job work, piece work and bonuses along with the supply on rations stipulated by the state for essential items.

To vigorously improve the system of state trading services and marketing cooperatives, and eventually achieve a solid command over the market, holding in hand the major part of wholesale trade, occupying a dominant position in retail trade, develop catering and other services. To improve material supplies, ensure integrated and timely supplies for production, giving priority to important tasks, and ensure a thrifty, highly effective use of materials. To strengthen the transformation and management work with regard to the market; check and punish speculations, price increases, trafficking, tax evasion and all market-perturbing activities.

10. To establish correct managerial and planning system, renovate the present one. To abolish the mechanism of administrative bureaucratic management based on the state financing system, overcoming slackness, conservatism, irresponsibility, indiscipline; bring into play collective mastery as a motive force, promote creative dynamism, the sense of responsibility and discipline. In the whole process of building and running the economy, expanding material technical facilities, and developing production, we must pay constant attention to in-depth development, seek to make good use of existing productive capacity and material facilities with all suitable measures. Fitting into an integrated whole, transformation, expansion and improvement. In every branch, locality, unit and in all cases, all policies, plans, and measures, we must attach importance to productivity, quality and effectiveness.

Progressing from small production to socialism, we must ensure without fail that all management levels -- central, local, grassroots -- are really masters of the plans, i.e., each level must actually work out, balance, defend and carry its plans into effect; planning must be carried out from the grassroots. The plans must embody the principle of cost-accounting and socialist business operations. This conforms to the system of collective mastery, and represents one of its important contents, i.e., to bring into play the strength of the community acting as master in combination with that of the individual acting as master in the framework of the community's mastery and in keeping therewith, and to correctly achieve the unity of the three interests, ensuring those of the whole society and the collectivity and paying due attention to the personal

interests of the working man. To do so is to hold firmly to use value while attaching great importance to value and the law of value.

At the central level, the state plan must direct the development of the whole national economy in accordance with the party's lines and its socioeconomic strategy, and lay down the overall development tasks of the various branches and local ties. On the basis of a synthesis of the main contents of the plans of all branches and localities, the state plan must ensure that the central authority firmly holds in hand the strategic economic fields, the major balances, the main target figures, the important projects and products of the national economy. Branch plans must be worked out. The plan of a branch must embody a correct strategy for its development on a nationwide scale, in keeping with the general socioeconomic strategy, provide for an increasing rise of its scientific and technological standards, ensure through good cost-accounting and socialist business operations, an enlarged reproduction process, contributions to the development of the national economy and the satisfaction of the needs of the whole society. On the basis of the general program of the whole country and the orientations and tasks of the state plan, local plans (including provincial and district ones) must aim at turning to account the possibilities and strong points on the locality, broadening exchanges with national services and other localities, providing through its own export-import trade for its requirements in production and daily life, and making ever greater contributions to the revolutionary cause in the whole country. The plans of grassroots units -- enterprises or connected enterprises in industry, cooperative and state farms in agriculture -- must express creativeness and initiative in production or business operations on the principle of financial autonomy. Every unit must manage to cover production costs and make profits so as to make ever bigger contributions to the whole country, ensure enlarged reproduction, provide better collective welfare and increased material incentives for its working people. Each planning level must bring into play its initiative, flexibility, keenness and good knowledge of trading as Lenin put it, do away with reliance on other, passivity, attempts to seek autarchy within narrow confines. We must broaden the home market and expand foreign trade, thereby turning to account the possibilities and strong points of each level, ensure a quick turnover of capital, broaden the division of labor, specialization and cooperation, and boost production.

We must make the planning work more and more scientifically grounded, pay full attention to fundamental surveys, economic and social forecasting, scientific-technological forecasting, long-term programming, economic zoning, the working out of a chart of overall development and distribution of productive forces; establishment of a system of a economic-technical norms, establishment and selection of good economic-technical projects, working out of inter-branch balance charts and linking of economic-financial planning with scientific-technical progress planning. We must strengthen the mandatory character of the plan on the basis of scientifically-grounded and realistically-balanced planning.

To diligently study, issue in time and correctly implement economic leverage policies so as to strongly stimulate and tightly control production and business activities. We must enhance the role of economic contracts in the working out and implementation of plans and promote a sense of responsibility in the fulfillment of contracts.

To put to good use the goods-money relationship and market relations, direct our main effort at using the organized market while striving to handle the free market in a really good manner.

To carry on the reorganization of social production. To build, consolidate and strengthen the grassroots units in all respects, and make the management of production and business operations a routine procedure. We must set forth at an early date organizational forms suitable to each type of grassroots unit in agriculture, forestry, fishery, industry, communications, trading, material supplies and so forth. Higher levels are dutybound to assist the grassroots level and each unit must strive to ensure the material supplies required for a stable and continuous production process. We must promote at an early date a rational and flexible economic relationship on

providing material supplies to grassroots units and finding outlets for their products. In each unit, care must be taken to foster the working people's health, raise their skills and afford them favorable conditions to engage in production with peace of mind and enthusiasm. While consolidating and strengthening the grassroots level, we must actively build economic-technical branches. We must make adequate preparations and organize in a rational and steady manner specialized companies and corporations -- national or regional -- and other forms of association in production, construction, transport and circulation. The building of economic-technical branches must be combined with a stepped-up development of local economies.

Through organizational adjustments, we must suit the state apparatus to the requirements of the new managerial mechanism and make it no longer cumbersome with overlapping components. We shall diligently achieve a good division of responsibility between the central and local levels, highlight the functions of the Council of Ministers in the unified management of the national economy and enhance the important role both of the general ministries and of the branch-managing ministries. We shall strive to perfect the district level, strengthen in a suitable manner the provincial and municipal level and clearly lay down the position of the wards and Phuong Kin towns and cities.

To attach importance to raising the work-running capacity and efficiency of the various managerial levels, ensuring a good coordination of forces, concentrating on the main tasks, carrying out tight controls, giving up rewards and meting out fitting punishments and summing up and popularizing experiences in time. The determining factor for a successful renovation of the economic management system is a drastic change in cadre work. In particular, we must assign the right cadres to key positions in the major production and business establishments, in various localities, especially pivotal areas, in various branches, particularly general branches and key economic-technical ones that are still weak.

To carry out in an integrated way the great policies mentioned above is to create a combined strength to bring about a fundamental turn to the actual situation of the national economy. However, the combined strength is the result not only of the implementation of these policies and measures, but also of the implementation of the party's general line and economic line as a whole. The collective mastery system, new culture and new people are the goals of the socialist revolution and also strong motive forces for the building of socialist large-scale production. The people's sense and capacity of collective mastery, their educational and knowledge standards, their patriotic thoughts and sentiments and their love on labor must become material forces stimulating the development of production. The mechanism of the party's leadership, people's mastery, and state's management must be given a concrete expression in all branches and at all levels through a correct relationship and appropriate methods of activity in order to set into motion an ebullient revolutionary movement of the broad masses for a successful attainment of the economic and social targets for the 1980's.

In the five years 1981-85, we should concentrate our forces on the following main tasks:

1. To resolve the most pressing problems to stabilize and improve to some extent the people's living conditions. To ensure food supplies for society. To supply the workers, cadres, civil servants and armymen with adequate rations of food, grain and foodstuffs. To meet the clothing needs of the whole people at a necessary minimum. To ensure an adequate supply of writing paper and printing paper for schoolbooks and new papers. To ensure adequate supplies of essential medicines. To achieve a better supply of household utensils and daily necessities. To increase the means of transport. To relieve the housing shortage and improve to some extent the dwelling conditions of urban people, especially through increased water supplies, a rational supply of electric power and better sanitary conditions. To achieve a better organization of the cultural and spiritual life of the people.

2. To develop and rearrange production. To strive to turn to account all existing and latent possibilities in order to bring about a new balance for the economy. To concentrate forces to a high extent for the agricultural front. To stimulate the development of forestry and fishery; to make every effort to develop consumer goods production, to take food industry and light industry a step forward. To ensure a better supply of electric power, coal, engineering products, metals, chemicals and raw materials to various economic establishments in accordance with a centralized integrated plan and a rational priority order on the basis of a careful calculation of general economic effectiveness. To step up prospecting for, and exploitation of, oil and gas. To develop local economies, to make active efforts in district building. To achieve a redistribution of the work force suited to the new arrangement of production and capital construction; to consolidate the newly-built economic zones and bring into play their effectiveness at an early date; to carry on the division and redistribution of social labor.

To improve the management and increase the material facilities and technical equipment with a view to enhancing the capacity on communications and transport. To ensure the reception of import goods, transportation of export goods, north-south transport, transport to and from areas which are very important with regard to economy and defense, and transport for key construction projects and for fraternal Laos and Kampuchea.

3. To rearrange capital construction in a way suited to the possibilities with an eye to creating more conditions for a good use of the existing material technical facilities in the pursuit of the most pressing economic and social objectives. To fit into integrated structures, transform, expand and improve the existing facilities; to resolutely drop or postpone those projects that cannot be built or are not so urgently needed; to carry on the building of unfinished projects that can be built and are badly needed to undertake the building on a selective basis and in keeping with our possibilities a number of new projects badly needed to meet the requirements of the 1981-85 5-year plan and those of subsequent years. To increase the effectiveness of investments in capital construction.

4. To improve the circulation and distribution work, to make a step in establishing a new order on this front. To adjust by steady steps the price system, to make resolute efforts to control and eventually to stabilize the prices. To guarantee the real wages of the workers, cadres and civil servants, to continue to better the wage system and prepare conditions to reform it and to cater for collective welfare. To ensure satisfactory incomes to stimulate the peasants' ardor in production. To improve and strengthen state and collective trade, to establish a strict control over the market in the whole country and resolutely to get rid of speculation and trafficking. To ensure the state's control over an overwhelming part of marketable foodgrain, the whole output of the state-run economy and a great part of other goods in society so as to ensure a distribution mainly according to the plans. To strive to balance the budget and achieve an important improvement in currency circulation.

5. To step up with determination socialist transformation and to complete in the main agricultural cooperativization in the Nam Bo provinces with production collectives as the most common form. To strive to complete in the main the transformation of trade, transport, industry, small industry and handicrafts in the south with appropriate ways and forms. To consolidate the socialist relations of production throughout the country with regard to ownership, management and distribution.

6. To achieve good economic cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos, Kampuchea and the other members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. To strive to achieve a major change with regard to exports and to reduce to an important extent the gap between exports and imports.

7. To practice strict thrift, to attach particular importance to thrift in capital construction and production. We must save each workhour, each gram of raw material or fuel, make a rational use of the equipment and machinery on the basis of advanced

economic-technical norms. To use lands in a rational and extremely thrifty manner. To strive every year to save between 5 and 10 percent of energy, material and food. To put to maximum use wasted materials, faulty products, and to initiate a broad movement to collect discarded items for further use. To enhance the sense of responsibility in the storage of goods, to avoid loss and detrition. To enforce a strict ban on unauthorized spending by various offices and units. To conduct an active campaign for thrifty consumption among the people. To carry out a resolute struggle against waste and losses; to mete out severe punishments for theft of state commodities and materials.

8. To achieve a good performance in quickly and widely applying scientific achievements and technological progress to production and daily life. Effectively to unfold key scientific and technological programs, actively to finalize main economic-technical projects contributing to the implementation of the 1981-85 5-Year Plan. To strengthen technical management in production and business operations, to spur the working people's movement for innovations to improve techniques and rationalize production. To coordinate the activities of the branches of social sciences and those of applied sciences with a view to effectively contributing to the renovation of the management and planning system.

9. To make a step in renovating the economic management system. To achieve a change in planning in the direction of planning by all managerial levels -- central, local and grass roots, planning from the grassroots, linking planning with cost-accounting and socialist business operations. To attach great importance to improving and strengthening the conduct of the work to carry out the plans, resolutely to concentrate forces and means on key tasks and links according to an integrated plan. To achieve a close combination of economic, administrative and educational measures and to attach importance to economic measures. To continue the timely enactment of urgently needed leverage policies with a view to encouraging production, increasing productivity, and ensuring the unity of the three interests. To readjust the organizational and managerial apparatus, to improve working regulations, to strengthen the economic information work. To spur the socialist emulation movement, making it ebullient and enduring.

10. To step up cultural and public health activities in keeping with the economic needs and possibilities. To carry out the education reform in an active and steady way; to attach the utmost importance to improving the quality of education. To lay down a rational training scale, and carry on the training of scientific workers, technicians, managerial cadres and skilled workers. To strive to develop and improve cultural, information, physical exercise and sport activities. To strengthen the protection of the people's health, to achieve good performance in hygiene, prophylactic, medical treatment and environment work. To wage a resolute struggle to eliminate all influences of reactionary, backward and depraved culture. To fight bad customs and superstitions.

11. To strengthen social management, to wage a resolute struggle against law-breaking, social evils and other negative manifestations, to highlight discipline in state and economic management, to maintain public order and social safety. Resolutely to check and punish economic sabotage activities, to conduct an effective struggle against the enemy's psychological and espionage warfare. To promote cultural life according to healthy, happy socialist patterns.

12. To meet the economic requirements of the consolidation of national defense and security; at the same time, to mobilize the capacity of the defense industry, and make a rational use of the military forces in suitable economic activities.

Thus, in the implementation of the socioeconomic strategy of the stage ahead, the years 1981-85 are ones of further development of the national economy, rearrangement of its structure, and stepped-up socialist transformation. These three aspects are to be closely combined to stabilize in the main the economic and social situation to meet the most pressing and essential requirements of the people's life, reduce the most serious imbalances in the economy, make an important step towards overcoming the abnormal state of affairs which prevails now in distribution and circulation, increase the prerequisites and conditions for a more vigorous and steady advance in subsequent years.

Part III -- Cultural and Social Tasks

Comrades, over the past years, parallel to the gradual formation of the new system and new economy, the building of the new culture and the molding of the new people have recorded definite achievements. With the new system, our people have thrown away the shackles which had tied man for millennia; the working people from the status of hired labor have stepped into the position of genuine masters of the country and society and regained national values and human dignity. That is the greatest revolutionary gain. However, because our society has just entered the transition period, there has been a small number of negative, unhealthy manifestations besides the new, socialist people who are taking shape, and the new, progressive features that are emerging in man. The struggle between the two paths, between the new and the old, the advanced and the backward, the progressive and the reactionary in the fields of culture, ideology and way of life is going on daily, in a very complex manner and cannot be slighted.

As an immediate step, we must wage a resolute and effective struggle against the negative phenomena in cultural and social life. We must take an integrated set of measures in various fields: economic, administrative, organizational, ideological, cultural. At the same time, we must realize that the struggle to mold the new people and build the new culture is a protracted, complex and difficult one. It cannot be separated from the resolute, continuous and deep-going struggle to wipe out the leftovers of the backward, reactionary ideologies and cultures which are the products of the old society -- the feudal society that had existed for millennia, and especially of the colonialist and neocolonialist system which existed in the south over the past few decades -- nor can it be separated from the strong, persistent and thoroughgoing struggle to oppose psychological warfare, to eliminate and check on a permanent basis the influences of the reactionary, depraved cultures covertly infiltrated from the outside by the imperialists, the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, and their agents. Over the past few years, we have not fully realized, and have relaxed to some extent these aspects of the struggle. The heavy responsibility of the ideological and cultural revolution is to carry on the remodeling of man, commend good people and good deeds, criticize the evil, the unhealthy, and bring about conditions to step up the whole cause of building socialism and defending the socialist fatherland.

We realize that the new social system and the new economy exert a decisive influence on the shaping of the new culture and new people. Conversely, the successes in the building of the new culture and molding of new people constitute a great motive force speeding up the building of the new system and new economy.

The building of the new culture and molding people must and can be carried out step by step, part by part, right from today. In the stage ahead, there are objective and subjective conditions allowing us to make initial steps in the establishment of a society which is fine with regard to the way of life, and relations among men; a society in which the working people feel happy even though the material living standards are not high. The reason is that as was very rightly pointed out by the party's fourth congress, the cultural level of a society does not depend mechanically on the level of economic development.

Collective mastery is the greatest happiness, the finest and loftiest feature of man. Happiness consists in gradually achieving mastery over society, nature and oneself; everybody will work and fight together for the development of the social community so as to have enough food and clothing, and at the same time, a merry and healthy life in equality and concord, in free labor, love and reason; everybody is allowed to develop to the full his or her personality, talent and aptitude, in a harmonious relationship among individual, family and society, and carry into effect the lofty ethics: "Each for all, and all for each."

As the fourth congress of the party clearly pointed out, the new culture is one which has a socialist content and a national character, a deep party and popular character, and is pervaded by patriotism and proletarian internationalism. It crystallizes and

raises to a new height what is the finest in the 4,000-year-old tradition of the Vietnamese soul and Vietnamese culture while absorbing on a selective basis the gains of human civilization and the achievements of modern culture and science. It harmoniously combines what is the finest in the cultures with specific features of the fraternal nationalities in the great family of the Vietnamese nation.

The Vietnamese are filled with ardent patriotism and animated with a spirit of democracy and equality in the relations among men. "To love one's country and one's family, to love others and oneself" is a deep-rooted tradition of our people. Thanks to this patriotic and democratic spirit, our nation has accomplished glorious feats of arms in its 4,000-year-old history. Since the birth of our party, under the banner of national independence and socialism, our people's traditions of patriotism and democracy have been raised to a new level and developed more vigorously than ever before. At present, our country is building a system of socialist collective mastery by the working people. This conforms to the laws of the time, and is a continuation and heightening of the Vietnamese nation's age-old tradition of patriotic and democratic culture.

To build the new culture and mold the new people is a cause having a comprehensive content, in which the educational system comprising preschool education, general education, secondary vocational education, vocational training, university and post-graduate education are of primary importance.

Over the past years, thanks to the great efforts of the party, state and people, of the men and women teachers, education work has continued to develop vigorously. It has begun to evolve in the direction of the education reform laid down by the party's fourth congress. All the educational services are striving to overcome the numerous difficulties in material facilities, surmount the obstacles resulting from our poor economic life and keep teaching and learning going regularly. At present, 2.7 million children attend kindergarten or preschool classes, the figure of general school children has reached 12.5 million, and that of university students is 150,000. In the south, the U.S.-puppet education system has been transformed rapidly, private schools abolished, and the schooling privilege for exploiting classes eliminated. The basis of a revolutionary education has been built, curriculums have been unified, and schools have been opened wide for the children of the working people and ethnic groups, pre-school, general and higher education has been developed, complementary education stepped up.

The achievements recorded in education as a source of pride for our regime. However, the educational work has fallen short of the present requirements of the revolution. Generally speaking, the educational system as a whole fails to prepare the younger generation well with regard to moral qualities and capacity to engage in productive labor, to struggle for socialist construction, and to accomplish the duty of defending the country as masters possessing the required practical skills and professional standards to serve the cause of achieving the economic and cultural development and transformation, consolidating national defense, maintaining political security, public order, and social safety. The programs and plans of educational development, especially with regard to higher education, secondary vocational education and vocational training, are not in harmony with economic development plans. The distribution and employment of school graduates still lack a good performance.

The biggest problem now is the serious decline in the quality of education. We have not only let the standard of cultural, scientific-technical knowledge drop, but also relaxed the education of the younger generation in revolutionary ideals and socialist ethics. The organization and direction of the training process are not close and serious enough. There are severe shortages of school buildings and school equipment; moreover, those available are not well utilized and maintained.

The whole educational effort must become pervaded with the goal of training new people, working people with a sense of collective mastery, ardent patriotism and pure proletarian internationalism. We must ensure that the younger generation can gradually master

mankind's treasures of culture and knowledge, turn this knowledge into a source of confidence, a scientific world outlook and method of thinking, thereby enabling people to think creatively, and act correctly in accordance with the lofty ideals of national independence and socialism, with the will to take a firm stand on the position of national independence and socialism.

The task in the coming years is to unfold the educational reform, develop education in an active and steady manner with steps suited to the requirements and possibilities of the national economy, strive for better-quality education, and pay due attention to vocational orientation for general school pupils. In the south and in the mountainous areas, while striving for better quality, we must attach great importance to increasing the number of schools, especially general schools. At the same time, we must not slight complementary education and literacy work.

To consolidate and develop preschool education; complete on the whole the endeavor for universal first-level education, actively and steadily develop second-level basic general education and strive step by step to make it universal. To expand the secondary general schools of the half-study, half-work type; to readjust the network of vocational training schools, broaden the forms of training and perfecting skilled workers both for industrial branches and for agriculture, small industry and handicrafts. To arrange a rational network of vocational secondary schools, universities, colleges; to give particular attention to consolidating and improving teacher-training schools. To work out programs and plans to train, perfect and turn to good account a balanced and integrated contingent of scientific workers, technicians, economic management cadres -- including those with postgraduate standards -- suited to the economic development requirements in the whole country and in each locality. To strengthen political, ideological, and moral education in schools. To enhance the position, quality and effectiveness of the Marxist-Leninist education department in universities and colleges. Each school must be a solid position of socialism.

The achievement of the educational objectives requires efforts and contributions from the whole society. Good coordination among the various services of the administration and mass organizations, especially the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, close combination between the state and the people, between schools, family and society, under the leadership of the party, such are basic conditions for the success of the educational work.

Our party, state and people have a high appreciation of the role of teachers in the training of the future generations; every man and woman teacher, every educational administrator must clearly realize his or her glorious task, love his or her profession all the more as he or she loves the people, firmly grasp the educational objectives, set real examples of moral qualities, strive to improve his or her work and wholeheartedly devote his or her knowledge, convictions, mind, pedagogic skills to the training of the most useful people for the country. The party committees and administrative bodies at all levels must give constant care to the building of the contingent of teachers, take steps to gradually raise their political, cultural, scientific and professional standards and endeavor to improve their material and moral living conditions.

In the building of the new culture and molding of the new people, an extremely important role belongs to cultural and artistic activities -- literature, stage performances, cinema, photography, music, fine arts, architecture, museums, and so on.

The implementation of the resolutions adopted by the party's fourth congress in this field have yielded fairly good results. The neocolonialist culture in the south has been eliminated on the whole. The revolutionary culture which developed during the resistance war has undergone an even more vigorous growth since the liberation. The mass movement for cultural activities -- the activities in the fields of exhibitions, libraries, clubs, cultural houses -- have continued to expand. A new feature in the countryside is the gradual establishment of a cultural network in a number of districts along with initial steps being made in the building of material-technical facilities

for culture. In the field of cultural and artistic creation, there have appeared over the past few years a number of works of value which have had marked effects in the promotion of new thoughts and sentiments. A number of works and artists have been given high awards in international competitions. Obviously, the building and transforming of culture along socialist orientations have made a step forward.

However, society now has ever greater cultural requirements. The cultural, literary and artistic work has failed to keep up with the new demands of society. Attendances at movies and artistic performances have risen, yet due to economic difficulties, the distribution of books, newspapers, and cultural items has decreased. Besides good cultural works, many cultural, literary and artistic activities are not of very good quality, generally speaking; they lack deep socialist content and a strong appeal, fail to give deep impressions and to lead people toward correct thoughts and actions. In cultural, literary and artistic activities, it is to be regretted that besides efforts to search for and create the new and the progressive, which should be highly appreciated and encouraged, some deviations and unhealthy tendencies have emerged. Meanwhile, the struggle on the cultural front has slackened in some places, and as a result, vestiges of the neocolonialist culture, bad customs and superstitions tend to return to favor in many areas and affect not a small number of young men and women. Party committees and administrative bodies at all levels, and ideological and cultural services must be fully aware of their responsibilities and enhance their supervision over cultural life.

To strive to develop and improve the cultural, literary and artistic activities suited to everybody and the activities suited to each age group, each locality, each ethnic group, with a view to meeting the ever greater cultural needs of the people. To broaden the mass movement for cultural, literary and artistic activities which must be really linked to the movement for production and fighting, create a basis and an inexhaustible source of nutrition for our new culture. To tighten the relation of mass culture, literature and arts with professional activities in this field, unceasingly to raise the standards of the masses in cultural creation and enjoyment.

To make patient efforts to promote a new, healthy, scientific, thrifty and plain way of life, to protect and develop the spiritual values. To wage a resolute struggle against bad customs and superstitions and carry on the struggle to sweep away the neocolonialist culture and the influence of all other reactionary and depraved cultures. All this is aimed at giving the new thoughts, sentiments and way of life a really dominant position in the life of the people, and successfully achieving a common will throughout the country to build socialism, and effectively to defend the socialist fatherland.

A task of the ideological and cultural revolution is to make culture pervade the people's daily life. Special attention should be attached to the promotion of cultural life in grassroots units, to ensure that every factory, construction yard, state farm, afforestation yard, army unit, people's security unit, service, school, hospital, government store, village, cooperative, city ward and hamlet has its own cultural life. To achieve a better organization of cultural life in cities and provincial capitals, making urban centers worthy representatives of the new culture. To give the utmost care to promoting cultural life in the countryside with greater attention being paid to former base areas and minority-populated regions. To build a number of works, such as cultural houses, cinemas, libraries, stadiums in district centers and in various villages in the districts, thus creating a network which functions to promote and popularize the new culture in rural areas. To build the above-mentioned works and to develop cultural life, we must carry out the policy of joint efforts by the state and the people.

Literature and arts constitute a very important and complicated area of culture and social life. The party must exercise strengthened and improved leadership suited to the peculiarities of this field. The party trusts the writers and artists, highly appreciates their contributions, and always looks forward to seeing the emergence of many creative talents and literary and artistic works of high ideological and artistic

value, worthy of a country with an age-old culture and of a heroic people. The party encourages every research and creative endeavor and the development of artistic styles and talents. At the same time, the party requires writers and artists to firmly grasp the method of socialist realism, highlight the party character and the responsibility of the fighters on the cultural and ideological front in the new stage of the revolution, to serve the interests of the people more effectively and make worthy contributions to the cause of socialist construction and national defense.

Newspapers, publications, radio, information and agitation work, television broadcasts, and so on -- in short, the mass media as a whole -- constitute very important elements on the cultural and ideological front. In the past few years, these services have made great efforts in disseminating the views, lines and policies of the party, progressive thoughts, scientific and technological knowledge and cultural and artistic achievements of our nation and mankind. However, the masses and the revolutionary cause require the mass media to further heighten its ideological character, quality and effectiveness. At present, newspapers are still marked by poor contents, poor information, unattractiveness in form, poor credibility, lack of high educating effect. Radio broadcasts are not always attractive to listeners. Much remains to be done to improve the quality and enrich the content of TV programs. Political and theoretical books and newspapers are still too few in number. The masses are asking for studies with scientific value and books presenting political and theoretical Marxist-Leninist knowledge in a varied, vivid and attractive manner suitable to each category of readers: workers, peasants, intellectuals, youths, and so on. The activities of the mass media must be given increased practicalism, truthfulness, militancy, higher technical and artistic standards. On the information and propaganda front, we must always have the command of the situation in all places, at all times, resolutely take the offensive, win victory at every day, every hour, smash in time the enemy's psychological warfare contentions and tricks. In many rural areas, mountain areas, especially the higher lands and border area, there are now very serious shortages of newspapers, radio sets and badly needed means of information and propaganda. The services concerned must make the greatest effort to put an end to this state of affairs.

Physical exercise and sports are an important, indispensable part of the building of the new culture and molding of the new people. The party and state should cater with greater attention to the development of physical exercise and sports with a view to helping enhance the people's health, promote the fine qualities of the new, socialist people, such as courage, energy, skill, intelligence, aesthetic sense, collective spirit, and honesty, and meet the requirements of national construction and defense.

Over the past years, the mass movement for physical exercise and sports at the grassroots level has made noteworthy progress and begun to gain ground in a number of districts and branches. The contingent of athletes has further developed. However, the movement has not been developed on a broad and permanent basis; the performances and records achieved in various sport are still low.

To ensure a steady development of physical exercise and sports with practical results, and gradually build the socialist physical exercise and sports with a balanced development and a national, scientific and popular character, it is necessary in the years ahead to broaden and improve mass activities in physical exercise and sports, first and foremost, among the schoolchildren, youths and in the armed forces. At the same time, we are to make active efforts to build up a contingent of athletes with ever greater numbers, good political and moral qualities, high performances and records. To this end, we must strengthen the organizational and managerial system of physical exercise and sports at all levels, in all branches, and mass organizations; enhance the quality and effectiveness of the cadre-training work, step up the scientific and technological research and application work, and increase the material-technical facilities for physical exercise and sports step by step.

In the past few years, we have been confronted with ever greater and more comprehensive demands regarding the protection of the people's health. Carrying out the resolution

of the fourth party congress, we have persevered in the direction of practicing preventive medicine, and made progress in combining modern medicine with our traditional medicine. We have quickly unified the health care organization, promoted a mass movement for hygiene and disease-prevention, increased workers and equipment, especially at the grassroots level and in districts. Thanks to this, we have on the whole checked and controlled in time epidemics, done a good job in meeting the first-aid requirements of the war-wounded, markedly lowered the incidence of a number of social diseases, increased the capacity of providing medical examination and treatment and achieving self-sufficiency in medicines. We have begun to keep health records on patients suffering from a number of diseases and on some categories of people in the south particularly, we have effectively got rid of some social diseases and evils, products of the U.S.-puppet regime, bringing a new life to hundreds of thousands of people.

However, much remains to be done in the protection of the people's health. The present conditions of environmental hygiene, especially in public places, in cities, provincial capitals and industrial regions, are posing many problems to be solved. Shortages of medicines and medical equipment are obstructing the treatment of diseases. On the basis of bringing into play the great strength of the people, the capacity of the localities and services concerned, we must provide appropriate investments to protect and gradually clean the environment, enhancing the quality and effectiveness of the work to prevent and fight epidemics, to prevent and check social diseases, better organize medical examination and treatment. We must continue to promote and develop our traditional medicine, achieve a more effective combination of traditional medicine with modern medicine; we shall consolidate and develop the health network, especially at the grassroots and district levels. An urgent task is to turn to account all possibilities available at home to create sources of pharmaceutical materials -- actively build the drug and medical equipment industry, bring about all conditions for putting an early end to shortages of medicines, including through imports with the proceeds of exports.

Our party, state and people hold in high esteem the great contributions of the medical workers from central to grassroots levels, the fighters whose lofty function is to cater to the life of man. To protect the people's health is a lofty revolutionary task. All medical workers, physicians or pharmacists, from professors medical doctors to nurses and attendant personnel, should clearly realize their glorious duty, show to a high extent the moral qualities of socialist medical workers "physicians are like kind mothers," and put all their intelligence and conscience to the service of the patients. Party committees and administrative bodies must afford favorable conditions for the medical workers to raise their professional skills, enhance their political standards, and at the same time, seek ways and means to improve their living conditions, especially with regard to medical workers in grassroots units.

Our party, state and people will remember forever the merits of the fallen soldiers and war invalids. In spite of current economic difficulties, we have made great efforts to provide suitable jobs for disabled soldiers, cater for the seriously injured ones, and organize the masses to care for the disabled soldiers and help the families of the fallen ones. Pursuant to the tradition of showing gratitude to those who have rendered services to the country, the various strata of people, especially women, adolescents and children, have made very active contributions to the work regarding the disabled and the fallen soldiers with thousands of practical and moving deeds. In the forthcoming period, the party committees, administrative bodies and mass organizations at all levels must show permanent concern to the disabled soldiers and the families of fallen soldiers, and ensure a full implementation of the policy with regard to them.

In accordance with the humane spirit of our social system, our state and people have done much to cater to, assist, and support helpless old people, orphans, and invalids. These works have been stepped up during the international year of the handicapped persons. From now on, we should strive on along this direction.

Administrative bodies at all levels should show, in coordination with the mass organizations, greater concern for poor children with no schooling.

With regard to the retired workers whose number is increasing year by year, our party and state must enact the required complementary policies and regulations, show due concern for their spiritual and material life, make special efforts to care with gratitude and due consideration for those cadres with a long record of revolutionary activities, and to attend to the health of old comrades. We welcome the eager contributions of retired workers to appropriate social works.

Special attention is required to provide better maternity and child care. This is a big problem in the economic and cultural development, molding of new people, and building of the new society, having a direct bearing on the happy life of every family. This is not only an extremely important task of our party and state but also a common task requiring the attention and contribution of the whole society.

The new regime must create ever fuller conditions for every family to live in happiness and for the women to fulfill their lofty function as mothers. A better performance is to be achieved in the family-planning campaign. We shall gradually broaden society's assuming the task of catering to, and educating children. However, this will in no way relieve the mother's role in bringing up healthy and well-educated children. The highest happiness of a young child is to be fostered and to grow up in its mother's love.

Despite the present economic difficulties of our country, our society has given priority to the satisfaction of children's needs in food, clothing, medical care, schooling, moving and recreation, and striven to allot to the children what is required and the best facilities available. The state has recently promulgated new laws and decrees on policies regarding the protection, care and education of children. All administrative bodies, services, mass organizations, economic, social, educational, health care and cultural organizations must seriously and fully carry out those policies in accordance with their respective functions. Socialism, and socialism alone, can bring happiness to man, and this is reflected first of all in the care for all aspects of the children's life.

Part IV -- To Strengthen the Socialist State, To Launch a Revolutionary Movement of the Masses

Dear comrades, to build and bring into play the working people's right to collective mastery according to the mechanism of party's leadership, people's mastery and state's management is a problem of decisive significance for a successful performance of the important and urgent revolutionary tasks in the forthcoming period. This mechanism has been institutionalized in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, but it has not been clearly embodied in the organizational structure of the state, in that mode of social and economic management, in the rules and pattern of daily activities of the various party committees, state bodies and mass organizations from the central down to the grassroots level. The efficiency of the state machinery at various levels is not great enough. The activities of the mass organizations have not brought about on a permanent basis a buoyant and widespread mass movement. There is slowness in improving the party's method of leadership with regard to the state and the mass organizations. That is precisely a weak point in our work of leadership and management over the past period.

The working people exercise their right to collective mastery mainly through the state under the leadership of the party. This state is that of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, a state of proletarian dictatorship. Therefore, to strengthen the state is a pressing problem at present. It is necessary to strengthen the state to bring into play the working people's right to collective mastery and fully manifest the party's leadership in the accomplishment of the three revolutions, the building of the new regime, the new economy, the new culture, the molding of the new people, the maintenance of political security, public order and social safety, the preservation of the revolutionary gains, the defense of the socialist motherland, the promotion and defense of the people's happiness.

Exercising their mastery through the state, our people do so primarily through the National Assembly and the people's councils at all levels. However, so far, the representatives of elective bodies have been given little training with regard to their tasks, powers and methods of activity; a number of elective bodies still work in a formal way, falling short of their functions, tasks and powers as provided for by the constitution. That is a weak point in the functioning of the state apparatus, and also a shortcoming in the party's leadership work.

Therefore, it is necessary to strive to ensure that the National Assembly, the highest organ of state power, really brings into play its role in lawmaking, deciding major issues of the state, and supervising the activities of the administrative services at the central level; and that the people's councils at all levels function in accordance with their position as local bodies of state power, making decisions on important issues in the building of the locality. The deputies to the National Assembly and the people's councils should fully bring into play their mandatory responsibilities and powers, entertain close and regular contacts with the electors, reflect in time the people's views and aspirations to the state bodies, thereby bringing about a quick acceptance and materialization of the people's correct suggestions.

Exercising their mastery through the state, our people do so through the Council of Ministers and the people's committees at all levels, which constitute a system of bodies handling political, economic, cultural, social, defense, security and other activities. As economic activities bear a foundation character, the crucial problem now is to readjust the organization of the economic management bodies of the state and improve their activities in close connection with the building of a new economic structure and a new management system.

In keeping with the new economic structure, proceeding from the requirements of production, business operations, and with a view to ensuring genuine connections with the grassroots, it is necessary to rearrange and perfect the economic management bodies of the state in every branch and at every level. We must resolutely readjust the organization, put an end to the current state of affairs wherein the apparatus is cumbersome with many intermediate levels, overstaffed but not very effective.

To perfect the Council of Ministers, increase its effectiveness in carrying out an appropriate centralized and unified management of the national economy. To attach special importance to the perfecting of the State Planning Commission and other general management bodies, to bring into play their role in furthering and supervising the economic activities of the various branches, localities and grassroots units. To consolidate and strengthen the ministries and general departments in charge of branch management to ensure their good performance in programming, policy planning, setting forth orientations and steps to develop science and technology, building the contingent of cadres and workers for the whole branch in the entire country and to hand over the concrete business of conducting production and business activities to the various companies and enterprises.

To reorganize the various production and business establishments, steadily build local economic structures, in particular to build the districts, form and develop in a rational way economic-technical branches in the fields of production, construction, transport, circulation in the form of companies or enterprise combines operating on the cost-accounting and socialist business system.

To consolidate and perfect on a permanent basis the local administration at all levels, give an adequate attention to the building and consolidation of the administrative apparatus at village and city ward level; give systematic training to the principal leading cadres of villages and city ward; amend the policies with regard to grassroots cadres of the administration and mass organizations.

To strengthen socialist legality is an imperative need in order to raise the managerial effectiveness of the state, ensure the working people's right to collective mastery.

To strengthen social management under the laws, our state must diligently concretize the new constitution through a system of laws; pay great attention to the gradual establishment of a system of economic laws and public security laws. To strengthen the bodies engaging in legal work, and urgently increase the training of state administrative cadres and legal cadres.

Our state must fully exercise both its political and economic powers to preserve social discipline, wage an effective struggle against law-breaking and social evils, and do away with the abnormal situation in which many laws and legal orders are not correctly implemented, or even not implemented at all. The state bodies at the central and local levels should take a firm attitude and strong measures to prevent and eliminate violations of the people's right to collective mastery, mercilessly suppress the counterrevolutionaries; punish those exploiters who refuse to reform, hooligans and ruffians, speculators, traffickers, embezzlers; take stern measures against those cadres and employees who abuse their functions and power to contravene the laws.

Party committees, state bodies and mass organizations must engage, on a permanent basis, in the work to make known and explain the laws among the various social strata; education on the law is to be introduced into schools at various levels, to promote a law-abiding spirit. To strengthen prosecution and inspection work; organize and broaden a system of people's inspectors; amend the handling of complaints, do away with their piling up, to put an end to the state of affairs in which no service, no organization takes upon itself the responsibility of adequately resolving the people's grievances and the violations of civic rights about which consideration is required.

The managerial bodies of the state must improve their method of activity; renovate their style of work, so as to give management activities militancy, incisiveness, conclusiveness and practicality; provide a close and thorough guidance with regard to each task, oppose red tape and the holding of too many meetings. Every section, every person in every service, every unit must abide by principles and regulations, observe a very strict discipline in the performance of their tasks. In the state's managerial bodies, it is necessary to abide by the one-chief system and to put an end to the shirking of responsibility, an important cause of sluggishness in management. To promulgate and strictly implement regulations on specific tasks for each office in the state's managerial bodies.

It is necessary to improve the procedures of study, discussion and approval with a view to ensuring correct and timely decisions on problems related to economic and social management. To put to use research agencies, economic, and scientific-technical organizations, mass organizations, collect the views of ordinary people and of cadres for the purpose of a good preparation of socioeconomic policies. In making decisions, it is necessary to take into account specific conditions and circumstances, which differ from one zone or one area to another in the country. After a decision or a directive of the party and the state has been issued, it is necessary to promulgate in a timely manner an integrated set of specific policies and regulations required for its implementation. We must write off and avoid setting forth complicated, impractical, overlapping or contradictory procedures likely to cause difficulties and troubles to production and business units. To strictly forbid arrogant and authoritarian attitudes towards the people. To organize a close follow-up of the implementation of the policies, handle in a clear-cut manner the requests of the lower levels and the masses; achieve an early detection of incorrect or obsolete stipulations and promptly issue new decisions to amend or supersede them. To eliminate sluggishness and obtain an atmosphere of diligent work, promote initiative and creativeness, and ensure unified centralization, it is necessary to apply in an integrated and effective way economic, administrative and educational measures. To lay down economic policies and measures, ensure a correct relationship between interests; carry out in a deep, wide and vivid way the political and ideological education work in the party, state bodies, and mass organizations; strictly enforce regulations designed to maintain discipline and law; achieve a good combination of the three aspects of this work to stimulate and compel all groups and individuals to work eagerly, with good quality and great efficiency. Good, efficient

workers will be commended and rewarded; bad performance and faulty work must be given proper punishments. The outstanding progress of many agricultural and industrial establishments in production and exploitation over the past period has proved that ensuring the unity of the three interests, catering appropriately to the personal interests of the working man; strongly arousing and permanently fostering the revolutionary ardor of the masses and highlighting clear-cut responsibility and strict discipline together create a motive force causing everybody to work well and stimulating dynamism and creativeness.

To strengthen the party's leadership over the state, to improve the leading method of party committee with regard to the administration is a decisive condition to promote the role and effectiveness of the state.

At present, there are still party committees and leading cadres that have not completely realized that to consolidate and strengthen the socialist state is a primary task of the party; there are still party organizations that take on themselves the business of state bodies. It is necessary to rapidly do away with this state of affairs. All party committees, party cadres and members must abide by the constitution and the law in an exemplary way, and be at the forefront in the struggle to strengthen socialist legality. The party organizations are strictly forbidden to lay down at will stipulations contrary to the law.

All party committees must go deeply into every field of concrete activity, especially on the economic front with a view to promoting positive factors, redressing wrongful actions, detecting problems related to policies and measures, and working out and perfecting accordingly a method of leadership consistent with the character and special features of each branch. It is necessary to base oneself on the specific requirements and contents of leadership in each branch, at each level to build the party organization and assign cadres in an adequate manner. Party cadres and members working in state bodies must firmly grasp the law and clearly understand the organizational structure of the state, the managerial mechanism and the method of the leadership of the party with regard to the state.

Dear comrades, the revolution is the cause of the masses. Therefore in any period, agitation and organization work among the masses for revolution-making bears a strategic significance. In the stage of socialist revolution, and at the present time when the revolution in our country carries out two strategic tasks -- to build socialism and to defend the socialist fatherland -- the importance of mass agitation work, far from being reduced, has increased. That is because a task of paramount importance to the revolution is to bring into play the working people's right to collective mastery and to build a system to this effect; that is both a target and a motive force of the socialist revolution. The working people's right to collective mastery under the leaders of the party is exercised mainly through the state, and also through the activities of the mass organizations which find an expression in the revolutionary movement of the masses.

Over the past five years and more, in specific areas of activity and during specific periods, we have initiated strong mass movements for the liquidation of the war aftermaths, the fight against natural disasters, emulation in productive labor, participation in the fight against the enemy to defend the country, maintain political security, public order and social safety. There has thus been noteworthy progress in the political and cultural standards of our working people and in their sense and capacity of mastery.

Our working class has grown much stronger. The number of workers has increased by 24 percent, and skilled workers account for 1.7 million persons. The political, cultural and vocational standards of the workers have been raised to some extent. In the face of great difficulties in production and daily life, our working class has shown its revolutionary nature, maintained and developed production, and built the material-technological basis of socialism.

The 1.6-million-strong contingent of small industrial workers and handicraftsmen represents a great productive force which has made an important contribution to economic rehabilitation and development, the boosting of consumer goods production and the furthering of everyday life and of exports.

Our working peasants have achieved new progress. Their consciousness and political, cultural, and technical standards have been markedly enhanced. The peasants in the north have developed many initiatives for intensive farming, increased productivity, consolidated the new relations of production, and actively fulfilled their duty to the state. The peasants in the south have eagerly restored and developed agriculture, have step by step embarked on the path of collective farming, and clearly shown their attachment to the new regime.

The contingent of intellectuals of our country has undergone a fairly rapid development; it has marked a 78-percent increase in five years in the whole country; there are now more than 260,000 university graduates and postgraduate cadres. The intellectuals have made intensive efforts and devoted their energy and capacity to the building and defense of the fatherland. A number of our research and artistic works have reached high standards.

Our youth has grown rapidly to maturity, and made contributions worthy of the glorious traditions of the young generation and the nation. The three shock actions in collective mastery movement has mobilized the youth to march in the forefront in many areas of activity, in productive labor and in the fight to defend the motherland and maintain political security, public order, and social safety; at the same time, it has fostered in young people revolutionary heroism, patriotism, love of socialism and a spirit of creative labor.

Our women are very worthy of being a mighty contingent of the revolutionary masses, a great social workforce, and have heavy responsibilities in the bearing and raising of future generations. The "new woman building and defending the fatherland" movement has educated and mobilized women in the whole country for a good performance of their civic duties and their responsibility as mothers; at the same time, it has fostered among women the spirit of striving for equality between man and woman, taking the liberation of women an important step forward.

Our compatriots of various ethnic groups from the mountain areas to the plains, from the high to the low lands, have brought into play their dauntlessness and their tradition of unity and struggle, and made great contributions to our victory in the two wars of aggression and to the defeat of the enemy's divisive maneuvers. Through the fight and the construction work, the fraternal ethnic groups have further steeled themselves and enhanced their patriotism and love of socialism.

The compatriots of the various religious communities with constant attachment to the nation have united with the nonbelievers, and eagerly striven for a good performance of their duty to the cause of building and defending the motherland.

The overseas Vietnamese with their minds constantly turned towards the country, have engaged in varied activities and made active contributions to national defense and reconstruction.

Through countless difficulties and trials the bloc of great unity of our entire people has been further consolidated and developed; every class, every stratum of working people has made contributions and grown mature. The fighting power, creative capacity and revolutionary potentialities of our people are great, indeed. That is an inexhaustible source of strength which guarantees the fulfillment of the historic tasks in the new stage.

However, in the recent years the mass movement has undergone an uneven development and in many cases, its effectiveness is low. Parts of the workforce have not been given a

good education on the role of the vanguard class and the responsibility of socialist collective mastery, they still suffer from the influence of the psychology and style of the small producer, and they fail to consciously abide by labor discipline and the law of the state. Some of the young people have been unable to set a revolutionary ideal for themselves; they fail to realize their duty to build and defend the fatherland. A number of youths and adolescents in towns and cities, under the influence of the bourgeois way of life, of depraved cultural leftovers and of the enemy's psychological warfare, have had thoughts and actions at variance with the socialist ethics and pattern of life.

The cause of the above-mentioned shortcomings lies in our failure to turn to account the entire system of proletarian dictatorship for the education and mobilization of the masses and to improve and heighten the contents, forms and methods of mass agitation in a way suited to the new requirements.

Many party organizations and party committees do not yet care to study the situation in regard to the life and thoughts of the various social strata; they do not attach importance to the building of the mass organizations and promoting of their roles and functions; they fail to exercise close leadership over the revolutionary movements of the masses. No small number of state bodies suffer from bureaucratism, commandism, authoritarian methods; they violate the people's right to collective mastery. The activities of the mass organizations have also been bureaucratized; they have been slow to be improved, and fail to meet the new requirements of the masses. A number of party cadres and members have suffered moral degradation, abused their positions of authority to bully the masses, isolated the law, injured the prestige of the party and state, and adversely affected the revolutionary ardor of the masses.

The buoyant, widespread and effective emulation movement in cooperative farms and agricultural production collectives, which has resulted from a correct application of the allotment of delivery quotas to the working people, constitutes a valuable and useful lesson. A correct grasp of the requirements and aspirations of the masses, the carrying out of a policy consistent with the vital interests of the working people, the finding out of specific forms and measures harmoniously combining the three interests, a close linking of correct economic policies with a good organization work and a deep propaganda and education work, have all guaranteed the exercising by the working people of their right as masters and resulted in a strong mass movement. And it is precisely through such a mass movement that the working people's right to mastery is really exercised. Obviously the working people must really exercise their right to collective mastery if there is to be a revolutionary movement; conversely, there must be a revolutionary movement if there is to be general collective mastery of the working people.

Our party must direct the correcting of the shortcomings in the mass agitation work; strive to overcome bureaucratism in the party organizations, state bodies and mass organizations; and manage to set going a truly deep, wide and strong mass movement.

The party committees, mass organizations, and state bodies must coordinate their efforts to use integrated sets of economic, administrative and educational measures, and bring about buoyant and lasting revolutionary movements of the masses in every locality, especially at the grassroots, in every social circle, every branch, every field of life, movements directed at the common objective: for the socialist fatherland, for the happiness of the people. Each movement should have practical contents and concrete targets, closely linked to the successful implementation of economic, cultural, social plans, the ensuring of defense and security, and yield effective results in all the three economic, social and ideological fields.

The party cell must assign mass work to its members and supervise their activities in mass organizations. Every party member must regularly participate in the activities of the mass organization of which he or she is a member, and use his or her exemplary actions and knowledge to persuade the masses and encourage them to carry out the policies of the party and state. The party organizations must create favorable

conditions for the masses to criticize the party's leadership and express to them their opinion on the relations of party cadres and members. They must become acquainted with the desires and possibilities of the masses, collect their initiatives and experiences, and give answers to the problems raised by them.

The state bodies, especially those in direct daily contact with the people, such as the administrative services in villages, city wards, districts, security services, tax-collecting offices, tribunals, prosecutors' offices, the cadres and employees of enterprises, shops, schools, hospitals, and so on, are dutybound to carry out propaganda and agitation work among the masses, maintain the close relationship of the people with the party and state, rapidly and properly handle the legitimate requests of the masses, fulfill their task to serve the people and resolutely eliminate arrogance, authoritarian methods and irresponsibility. The state bodies must act in close coordination with the mass organizations to mobilize the masses to implement the lines and policies of the party, and the plans and laws of the state.

The role and strength of the mass organizations lie precisely in their ability to rally the masses, understand their moods and aspirations, promote their socialist consciousness, arouse their conscious activity, initiative and creativeness. To this end, there must be a renovation of their organizational forms and mode of activity to suit the new conditions. In their activities there must be dynamism and sensitivity to the problems newly arising in life, an end to bureaucratism, oversimplification, and rigidity in organization and activity. To broaden the forms of organization according to professions and the requirements of daily life and cultural activities so as to draw mass participation in social activities, the contingent of mass organization cadres must be renewed. In addition to skilled and ardent full-time cadres with the required number, it is necessary to make wide use of half-time ones to help mass organizations get closer to the grassroots and the masses.

It is the duty of the mass organizations to educate their members in socialism, socialist legality, the responsibilities and powers of collective mastery; to promote the sense and capacity of mastery; to persuade the masses to consciously implement the policies of the party and the laws of the state and at the same time, to collect and reflect the views of the people to propose to the party committees and state bodies policies and measures to resolve the matters related to the people's interests and help build the administrative apparatus at all levels.

The trade unions must improve their organization and activities to carry out their goal, functions and tasks in the socialist revolution to the full as laid down in the resolution of the fourth party congress and the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. As an immediate step, the party's work among the workers and the trade union's activities must be directed at the task of building a strong Vietnamese working class, promoting the class consciousness, molding the new, socialist workers. The trade unions must concentrate their activities on the attainment of economic, scientific, technological, organizational targets, step up the emulation movement for productive labor and thrift among the workers and public servants, raise the workers' political, cultural, scientific-technological standards, and actively contribute to the training of highly skilled workers and good managerial cadres.

The trade unions must take an effective part in state affairs; effectively contribute to the improvement of economic management, especially that of the management of enterprises; closely cooperate with the state bodies to resolve concrete problems. On production conditions, labor protection and fostering the labor force, stabilizing and ensuring the life of workers and public servants, the trade unions must play the role of a core in the socialist emulation movement, set brilliant examples regarding the new attitude towards labor, the sense of discipline, initiative, creativeness, thrift and protection of public property; at the same time, they must criticize and overcome unhealthy manifestations in labor and everyday life among a number of workers and public servants. The party committees and administrative bodies must afford every condition for the workers and public servants to take a direct part in handling production and distribution, and for the trade unions to supervise and control the work of state bodies.

The trade unions are dutybound to defend the legitimate interests of the workers in the joint state-private enterprises and private capitalist ones in the south. On the basis of the new constitution, the state should study the amending of the trade union law.

The federation of cooperatives which represents the small industrial workers and handicraftsmen must strengthen the political and ideological education work to enhance the sense of mastery among co-op members and handicraftsmen; it must carry on the transformation and reorganization of small industries and handicrafts, unceasingly consolidate and perfect the new relations of production, cater to the organization of the workers life, the training of cadres and workers, make suggestions to the party and the state about policies and regulations to impulse the development of this production sector in keeping with the socialist path.

The work among the peasants aims at uniting and educating peasants for materializing the worker-peasant alliance, stepping up the three revolutions, achieving an all-round development of agricultural production, taking agriculture a step toward socialist large-scale production, building the new, socialist countryside, making an important contribution to socialist transformation and construction. The party committees and state bodies, especially at district and village levels, must strive to build and consolidate the cooperative farms and agricultural production collectives. The cooperative farms and production collectives are to fulfill their functions of organizing production and business operations, carry out their obligations to the state, cater to the life of their members; at the same time, they are to do a good job in uniting and educating peasants, fostering their sense and capacity of collective mastery. To bring into play the action of the union of collective peasants and the peasants' association, it is necessary to find forms suitable to each locality to enable cooperative farms and production collectives to exchange experiences on the organization of production and the building of the new countryside.

Our party must further strengthen the work among the intellectuals, strive to bring into play the great potential of our intellectuals with a view to serving the country and socialism in an increasingly better way.

The Political Bureau of the party's Central Committee has issued a resolution regarding the policy on science and technology. The party committees, state bodies and mass organizations should seriously implement this resolution, work out policies and plans for the development of culture, education, science and technology, and ensure their good implementation; overcome the shortcomings in the training, perfecting, and employing of scientific workers and technicians; help them raise their political and professional standards, afford them favorable material and moral conditions to work with high efficiency.

Our party has always held that the work among the youth has special importance. This is a strategic question of the revolution, a responsibility of the entire system of proletarian dictatorship. Its task, both on an immediate and a long-term basis, is to enhance in the younger generation the sense of mastery and to bring into play its shock-role in socialist construction and national defense; quickly overcome unhealthy manifestations among a number of youths and adolescents; strive to train and steel the young people into new people with an all-round development, loyal and outstanding continuators of the cause of the party and nation.

The party branches must exercise close leadership over the youth work, cater to the building of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union and the Ho Chi Minh Pioneers' Organization, in accordance with President Ho Chi Minh's behest in his testament: ...The training and education of future revolutionary generations is of great importance and a necessity. All branches, state bodies and mass organizations and the whole society are dutybound to work among the youths and the adolescents, and must achieve a close division and coordination of work for the sake of a good performance in this respect. It is necessary to achieve a genuine renovation of the forms and methods of organization and education of the youth and adolescents in keeping with the new

situation and tasks, the particular features of the youths with regard to their age, and new requirements; to smash in time the enemy's schemes and acts of sabotage with regard to the youth; to lend political education to the caring for the settlement of concrete matters related to the interests, material and cultural life of the youth. In the forthcoming period, it is necessary to hold special conferences to study and resolve the new problems regarding the thoughts and way of life of our youth; to issue, in due course, Central Committee resolutions on the agitation and education work among the youth in the new stage; the state should study and promulgate a law on the youth.

Our party has always had a correct appraisal of the good nature and revolutionary capacity of the youth and the political role of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union. The union must achieve a better performance in organizing its members and the youth and educating them on socialism and communism. To enhance the young people's sense of collective mastery, give them a clear understanding of their duties and rights, make them live in accordance with the lofty communist ideal, lead a civilized, healthy life, show creativeness in labor and study, wage an uncompromising struggle against the negative manifestations. To attach the utmost importance to the education of the youth in the national and the revolutionary traditions, genuine patriotism and proletarian internationalism. To encourage the young people to march in the van of the emulation movement to engage in productive labor and thrift, to develop culture, education, science and technology, to build the armed forces, to fight and stand combat-ready to defend the motherland, to maintain political security, public order and social safety.

The union must carry out a better work in educating the adolescents and children, and guiding the Ho Chi Minh Pioneers' Organization and the Ho Chi Minh Children's Organization.

As an arm and a reserve of the party, the union must actively encourage and guide its members to participate in party building. Party committees must assign politically good, knowledgeable and able cadres to be directly responsible for the work among the youth and pay much attention to the training of prominent union cadres into future leading cadres of the party and state.

To continue to step up the cause of liberating women and achieving equality between men and women, so as to promote further the role and capacity of women in the building of socialism and the defense of the fatherland, party committees should ensure that the party's viewpoint and policy regarding the work among women are fully grasped in all organizations belonging to the system of proletarian dictatorship. It is necessary to struggle to eliminate the feudal and bourgeois viewpoints in the assessment of the women's forces and capacity, the training and employment of women workers and cadres, the resolution of concrete matters related to the life of women and children.

The Vietnam Women's Union must strive to educate and encourage women to bring into play their right to collective mastery, to make even greater contributions to the fatherland and to socialism and to carry on the struggle for the liberation of women and the molding of the new, socialist women. It must cater to the welfare and life of women, afford them conditions for a good performance of their production tasks, social activities and raising of children. It must undertake, in coordination with state bodies, the trade unions and the youth union, surveys on women's life, labor conditions, needs and aspirations, their status in participating in state and social management; it must propose to the party and state the promulgation of policies and laws to ensure the women's rights, and contribute to the supervision over the implementation of these policies and laws.

Enhancing our people's tradition of unity, the Vietnam Fatherland Front mobilizes the various social strata, religious communities, ethnic groups, intellectuals for an eager participation in various revolutionary movements to build and consolidate the administration; it strives to strengthen socialist legalities, increase the political and moral oneness of mind in our society, and promote the working people's right to collective mastery in the building of socialism and the good of the motherland.

The party must direct a good implementation of the resolution of the fourth congress regarding the policy on nationalities while carrying on studies for a timely settlement of the new problems related to the party's work on nationalities. It is necessary to strengthen the unity of the various ethnic groups on the principle of equality, mutual assistance and joint collective mastery; to step up the propaganda and education work to give the compatriots from the various ethnic groups of the whole country a deep understanding of the new situation and tasks and the party's policy on nationalities and help them enhance their vigilance, smash in time all divisive and sabotage maneuvers of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, of the imperialists and other reactionaries, write off the remaining national prejudices, and join efforts to build and defend the motherland.

The state must increase its investments for the ethnic minority areas and all party branches, administrative bodies. Mass organizations must make every endeavor to develop economy and culture, meet in time the pressing needs of the minority nationalities in production and everyday life, especially of the higher lands and in border areas, with a view to making a step toward overcoming the gap bequeathed by history in economic and cultural development standards between the various ethnic groups. Every level, every branch must implement the party's policy on nationalities to the extent of its responsibility and possibilities; it must particularly seek a good performance in the training of leading and managerial cadres, scientific workers and technicians of minority stock, first and foremost, for the district lands.

The religious policy of our party and state is to respect the people's freedom of religious belief and nonbelief; to unite all religious communities; to unite believers and nonbelievers with a view to jointly building and defending the country; to mete out severe punishments for activities which abuse religion to the detriment of the interests of the fatherland and socialism. All party branches, administrative authorities, and mass organizations must step up propaganda and education activities on the policy of our party and state with regard to religions, and encourage the religious believers to strengthen unity with the other strata of people, to strictly implement all policies of the party and the laws of the state, and to engage eagerly in the emulation movement for production, study, fulfilling civic duties, defending the fatherland and promoting a new life.

Our people are confident that the overseas Vietnamese will enhance their tradition of unity and patriotism, and make worthy contributions to the defense of the fatherland.

Part V -- The World Situation and the Foreign Policy of Our Party and State

Dear comrades, during the 1970's, especially after the U.S. imperialists' debacle in Vietnam, the world situation entered a new era of development. The three revolutionary currents of the epoch grew tremendously, creating a tremendous consolidated strength. They won brilliant victories in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The countries of the socialist community rapidly increased their total strength, clearly reflecting the superiority of socialism -- a system under which the working people are the genuine masters and the loftiest objective is the happiness of human beings.

The Soviet Union is advancing vigorously to the stage of building the material-technical basis of communism. Many countries are accelerating the process of completing the building of developed socialism. A number of countries are building the material-technical basis of socialism. The socialist countries in CEMA have maintained the accelerated pace of economic development. The Soviet Union has doubled its fixed assets over those of 10 years ago, and its production forces have reached new standards for quality. The countries of the socialist community have built a firm and strong national defense, developed the scientific and technical revolution broadly and deeply and scored remarkable economic and social achievements. As a result, they have shaped a good way of life and ensured legitimate human rights.

The economic alliance has been broadened with every passing day, and the increased cooperation in the various aspects of production and science and technology, as well as the close coordination of the political and diplomatic domains, has opened fine prospects for the development of the socialist community.

Despite definite difficulties still being encountered in the process of advance and despite the betrayal of the Chinese ruling clique, the socialist system has created a consolidated strength that is far superior to that of the imperialist and reactionary forces. With the Soviet Union as a pillar, this system has more vigorously developed its effect as the decisive factor in the developmental trend of mankind's society, as the firm bulwark of peace and as the reliable support of the world people's revolutionary struggle.

The national liberation independence movement is sweeping away the last positions of colonialism and dealing heavy blows to neocolonialism. Over the past 5 or 6 years more than 20 additional countries have gained independence and become equal members of the international community. The independent nationalist Afro-Asian-Latin American countries are continuing their vigorous struggle to win their complete sovereignty over the natural resources still under imperialist control. They are demanding the establishment of a new world economic order. Many countries, such as the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Afghanistan, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Libya, Congo, Benin, Algeria, Madagascar, Nicaragua and Grenada closely unite with the socialist countries and countries that hold firm to their positions in each region of the world. They hold high the banner against imperialism and international reaction. They have established democratic power of the people, carried out many economic, cultural and social reforms in the interest of the majority of the working people and chosen the path of advancing to socialism.

The increasingly close attachment of the national independence movement to the socialist system has created a new position of strength for the revolutionary forces. Relying on this strength, the Nonaligned Movement has made great contributions to the cause of consolidating national independence and maintaining world peace.

In the developed capitalist countries, the class struggle has unfolded very fiercely. The movement of the working class and laboring people has undergone new development, assumed a large scale, displayed a buoyant spirit and taken highly diversified forms. Waves of fierce struggles against bourgeois administrations' attempts to shift the burden of the economic crisis, inflation and recession to the working people and struggles against unemployment, exploitation and social vices have been closely combined with the struggles against the strangulation of democracy, for the establishment of the working people's political rights, against the arms race and for the implementation of a foreign policy of peace, friendship and cooperation among nations. These waves of struggle have brought about the downfall of the fascist dictatorships in a number of countries and have plunged monopolistic capitalist administrations into an unending crisis.

In some countries, the communist and workers parties have played an important role in the national political life, and they have been the principal force which has held high the banner of democracy and social progress against a monopolistic capitalist administration.

Imperialism has recently suffered repeated defeats. The capitalist world has been plunged into a serious general crisis without precedent. Many factors which helped promote the strong development of the capitalist world's production forces up to the early 1970's have been lost, and they are gradually losing effect. Along with the economic and social impasse, there has been a collapse of various demagogic doctrines and arguments beautifying the capitalist society. In the common weakened position of imperialism, its chieftain, the United States, has suffered the biggest failures and the most acute crises and has been overtaken by other capitalist powers. The worldwide economic, energy and raw material crises have spawned even more contradictions among the imperialist countries. In an attempt to find a solution to its economic crisis and

to cope with the world revolutionary movement, U.S. imperialism has rallied its forces to strive to maintain its control of the imperialist system, and it has readjusted its counterrevolutionary global strategy by directing the spearhead of its main attacks against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

In its attempts U.S. imperialism has found a new ally in the reactionary clique within the Chinese leadership. The collusion between the chieftain of imperialism and Chinese expansionism and hegemonism is a striking characteristic of the current international situation. The Reagan administration's policy of playing the China card and the Sino-U.S. collusion is a factor which constantly threatens world peace. In particular, this collusion is posing a serious threat to security and stability in Asia.

U.S. imperialism has attempted to launch a global counteroffensive to realize its ambition of gaining worldwide military supremacy, retaking lost positions and blocking the development of the three revolutionary currents. It has stepped up the arms race on an unprecedented scale and has actively developed various types of mass-destruction weapons, including the neutron bomb. It has introduced medium-range nuclear missiles into Europe, blatantly propagandized nuclear war, recreated a cold war atmosphere and has sabotaged international detente and security.

The United States has relied on a policy of force to attack the national liberation movement, which it has slanderously branded terrorism. It has expanded and strengthened its worldwide system of military bases and has feverishly armed reactionary dictatorships in Central America, the Middle East, South Asia, southern Africa and so forth, so as to fan the flames of armed conflict and create new hotbeds of tension in these regions.

In fact, the United States is gradually realizing its scheme of entering into a military alliance with China so as to turn the latter nation into a U.S. shock trooper in Asia.

The United States and its reactionaries have interfered in Poland's internal affairs in an attempt to overthrow socialism in the country and to sap the aggregate strength of the socialist community. This adventurist policy is posing an extremely serious danger to world peace.

The current struggle for the various goals of our time is going through a turbulent, difficult and much fiercer stage. However, the imperialists and international reactionaries are coming up against the growing strength and the offensive trend of the three revolutionary currents. The desire for and the determination of various nations to achieve peace are being encouraged by the Soviet Union's foreign policy of peace and by various countries in the socialist community. At present, no country in the world wants to see a war which would kill millions of humans; nor does any country want to squander its assets and natural resources in destroying human civilization. Peace, the fruit of the common struggle of various peoples, must be defended. The unification of all the efforts of various socialist countries, of the nonaligned countries, of various democratic and peaceful forces and of all the nations now has a great potential to dispel the danger of a nuclear war and to prevent the warlike and aggressive policies of the imperialists and international reactionaries. The U.S. imperialists or anyone who wants to play the role of an international gendarme will certainly be duly punished wherever they raise their interfering or offensive hands. Mankind is now in the era in which the peoples of all the countries have become conscious of their role as masters. Even a small island has also been able to rise up and regain independence. Any war staged by the aggressors to suppress the national liberation movement or to strike against any independent country will certainly bring disaster to the very ones who have staged that war.

At the 26th CPSU Congress, Comrade Brezhnev proposed a very important peace program containing many new measures dealing with the elimination of nuclear weapons and disarmament, the prevention and the quick eradication of armed conflicts and tension and the establishment of various peace zones in many sensitive areas in the world, from

central Europe to the Far East, from the Middle and Near East to the Pacific and the Indian Ocean and so forth. This peace program is the determined voice of a nation which experienced the heaviest sacrifices of World War II and which has made the greatest contributions to the peaceful life of the peoples of various countries.

The VCP, the SRV Government and the Vietnamese people would like once again to express their total support for the Soviet Union's peace program and its unswerving stand and to heartily welcome the Soviet Union's good-will and constructive proposals in its relations with the West, especially the recent proposals -- contained in some important statements by Comrade Brezhnev concerning the European and Asian situation -- aimed at halting the arms race, dispelling the danger of a nuclear war and promoting detente, security and cooperation in the world.

Dear comrades, looking back over more than half a century of activities of the VCP, we are pleased to note that since its founding, in parallel with its correct internal policy, our party has always adopted a correct foreign policy. The Leninist foreign policy advocated and maintained by Comrade Ho Chi Minh constitutes a component part of the party's strategies and policies for all the developmental stages of the Vietnamese revolution. Relying on the clear-sighted assessment of the many major changes in the world situation following the October Revolution and World War II and skillfully combining genuine patriotism and pure proletarian internationalism, our party has guided the Vietnamese revolution in constantly following the correct direction for development in our time. This is an important factor leading to the success of national independence and socialism in our country and serves to ensure our people's just contributions to the world people's revolution.

Over the past 5 years, in implementing the party's principled foreign policy we have achieved many great successes, increasing the steadfast stature and strength of our people in their struggle for national defense, and creating more favorable conditions for our socialist construction.

In spite of the enemy's schemes and tricks aimed at encircling and isolating our country, the role and position of the SRV have been enhanced further in the international arena. In the period to come, our diplomatic work must be aimed at striving to take advantage of favorable international conditions and seeking to obtain the great and multifaceted international assistance for our national construction and defense undertaking, thereby contributing to ensuring the successful fulfillment of historic tasks to be set forth by the current congress. In particular, our diplomatic work must become an active and positive front in the struggle to frustrate the policy of the big-power Chinese hegemonist expansionists in collusion with the bellicose U.S. power, trying to weaken and annex our country. In the immediate future, we must strive to defeat the multifaceted war of sabotage waged by them. We must prevent their scheme of rekindling the war of aggression and consolidate peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia.

Loyal to their international obligations, our people are uniting with the revolutionary and progressive forces in the world and vigorously supporting the resolute struggle of the peoples in the world against the bellicose and aggressive policy of U.S.-led imperialism for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Dear comrades, tightening the bonds of friendship and developing the relations of cooperation with the fraternal socialist countries on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism is a primary task in our party and state's foreign policy. Our people are very pleased with the fine development of the militant solidarity and relations of cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union since the two countries signed the treaty of friendship and cooperation in 1978.

As Vietnam's strongest and firmest ally, the Soviet Union is determined to stand side by side with our people and has promptly and generously met our needs in the task of consolidating national defense. The Soviet Union has provided our national economy with those technical materials and goods which are most essential to our people's

production and life. It has aided us in building a series of major projects, thus creating the initial material and technical bases of socialism in our country. The Soviet Union's cooperation with us and assistance to us in the cultural, scientific and technical areas and in the training of cadres and skilled workers have been increasingly expanded and strengthened. The exchange of goods conducted by the two countries every year through barter trade is favorably developing.

Solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union has always been the cornerstone of our party's and state's foreign policy. In the interests of the peoples of the two countries, from now on we will continue even more vigorously to develop the militant solidarity and all-round cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union. We regard this as a guarantee for the success of our people's cause of national defense and socialist construction as well as for the consolidation of national independence and the establishment of socialism on the Indochinese Peninsula. This is also an active contribution to the consolidation and strengthening of the socialist system and the strengthening of the struggle for peace and socialism in the world.

Remaining closely attached to and promoting all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union are a principle, a strategy and a manifestation of revolutionary sentiments. Our party is dutybound to educate various generations of the Vietnamese people to grasp this principle firmly and to master this strategy thoroughly and to translate these things into a powerful driving force so as to bring our revolutionary cause to total victory.

This year the USSR will celebrate its 60th anniversary. Our people send sincere wishes to the fraternal Soviet people that, under the great CPSU leadership, they will score new outstanding achievements in implementing the historic 26th CPSU Congress resolutions to greet their glorious festival.

The Vietnam-Laos-Kampuchea militant solidarity has entered a new stage of development. It has brought about unprecedented changes in the revolutionary situation in the three Indochinese countries. We welcome the Lao People's Democratic Republic -- a stalwart and loyal comrade in arms -- for its outstanding achievements in economic restoration and development along the socialist line and in national defense. We welcome the People's Republic of Kampuchea -- the courageous Kampuchean people's sole, genuine and legal representative -- which has scored great victories in reviving the nation and in the struggle to defend its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The friendly relations on the state level and among the peoples and the economic, political and cultural cooperation between our country and the two fraternal countries have developed well. Trade has increased with each passing day.

Implementing the treaties of friendship and cooperation between our country and the LPDR and the PRK, our party, state and people have devoted all their efforts to supporting and assisting the two fraternal countries wholeheartedly and in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. Each of our national defense exploits and each of our socialist construction achievements are closely linked to the valuable support of these two fraternal countries. This attachment to one another through love, mutual assistance and by sharing weal and woe has been manifested all the more clearly in life and has deeply imbued the feelings of the people of each country.

The special Vietnam-Laos-Kampuchea relationship is an evolutionary law of the revolution in the three countries. It is a matter of survival for the destiny of the three nations. For generations to come, our people must preserve the pure friendship and the traditional solidarity among the three nations by constantly consolidating and strengthening the special relationship and militant alliance among the three countries and by resolutely defeating all the plots and acts of sabotage, division and aggression of the common enemy -- the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists -- which is colluding with the U.S. imperialists and other reactionaries. We consider it to be a firm guarantee for the protection of independence and freedom and the success of socialist construction in each of the countries on the Indochina Peninsula. This is a very important factor of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Based on the principle of respect for one another's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and for mutual legitimate benefits, and with equality and mutual confidence in each other, we will constantly devote all our thoughts and efforts to fulfilling our international obligations to the two fraternal countries. At the same time, we will closely cooperate with the two countries and will comprehensively help one another ever more effectively to support the consolidation of national defense and security and the economic and cultural development of each country.

The militant solidarity and fraternal cooperation between our country and other countries in the socialist community has taken a new step of qualitative development since our country became an official member of CEMA. We have received strong support and multifaceted assistance from the fraternal countries. Pursuant to the treaties of friendship and cooperation and the agreements concluded between our country and these fraternal countries, the political, economic, cultural, scientific and technical cooperation has been accomplished with encouraging progress and results.

In the years ahead, we will do our utmost to cooperate with these fraternal countries within the framework of bilateral treaties and agreements, and we will promote the development of these relations of cooperation in the process of coordinating plans and policies among the CEMA member countries.

We warmly support the correct and resolute measures taken by the Polish Military Council of National Salvation to defeat the subversive plots of reactionaries, restore security and order and resolve the economic and social problems of Poland. We vehemently protest the actions of imperialist forces, which have brazenly interfered in Poland's internal affairs in order to impede the process of reviving of socialist Poland. We affirm our unshakable solidarity with the Polish United Workers Party and the fraternal Polish communists and people. We are firmly convinced that the fraternal Polish people will certainly smash all of the reactionary forces, overcome all difficulties and preserve and develop their revolutionary gains. The Polish People's Republic will always remain a firm link in the world socialist system.

Our people resolve to side with the fraternal Cuban people and strongly support the Cuban People's Republic -- an independent and sovereign country, a member of the socialist community and president of the Nonaligned Movement -- which is struggling against the aggressive plots and offensive threats of the U.S. imperialists. The Cuban people, who rose up from a life of slavery, are fluttering aloft the banner of freedom and socialism for the sake of their national independence and their own happiness. They are heroic and indomitable people whom no aggressors can defeat. Hands off Cuba!

Our people unswervingly support the Korean people's just struggle to reunify their country peacefully without foreign interference.

We actively contribute to strengthening the unity of the international communist and workers movements on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Through the victory of historic and epochal significance in the anti-U.S. struggle for national salvation and through the glorious victories in the two recent struggles for national defense and the present stalwart struggle against Chinese expansionism and hegemony, our party has contributed and is actively contributing to the struggle against Maoism to protect the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

Being a nation once oppressed by imperialism and having long struggled against the forces of aggression, our people totally support the struggle of African, Asian and Latin American countries to eliminate all forms of imperialism in the world, gain and protect national independence and build a new world economic order.

The Vietnamese people positively implement the line of developing cooperation between Vietnam and other members of the Nonaligned Movement and contribute to developing the active role of this movement in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism to

protect world peace and the independence and sovereignty of all nations. Our people support the positive efforts of the nonaligned countries to turn the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

We warmly welcome the initiative of the Mongolian People's Republic concerning the signing of a convention of nonaggression and nonuse of force in the relations among the Asian and Pacific countries.

Our people highly evaluate the great role and increasingly high prestige of India in the Nonaligned Movement as well as its contributions to defending peace and stability in Asia and the world.

We are very elated at the fine development of Vietnam-India relations and are convinced that the friendship and multifaceted cooperation between the two countries will be increasingly consolidated and strengthened.

We resolutely support the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan Government and the fraternal Afghan people -- assisted by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries -- who are struggling against the undeclared war waged by the imperialists and international reactionaries to defend the gains of the April revolution.

Our people resolutely stand by the side of the peoples of Nicaragua and Grenada, who are struggling against the threat of U.S. imperialist aggression. We fully support the valiant struggle of the people of El Salvador against its fascist dictatorship and the U.S. interventionists. We strongly support the peoples of Chile and Guatemala in their struggle against the fascist rulers and U.S. imperialist intervention. We support the people of Panama in their struggle for implementation of sovereignty over the Panama Canal.

We condemn U.S. imperialism for using Israel as a shock trooper against the peoples of various Arab countries and encouraging it to launch barbarous attacks against Lebanon and Iraq, to invade and occupy Jerusalem and to annex the Golan Heights of Syria, thus creating an extremely dangerous situation in the Middle East.

We support any effort aimed at achieving a just and lasting peace in this region, on the basis of Israel's ending its occupation of all captured Arab territories and respecting the inalienable basic national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, whose sole legitimate representative is the PLO, including the right to found a state of their own.

We resolutely support the people and Government of Libya in their persistent struggle against the hostile policy of U.S. imperialism and for the maintenance of their sovereignty and the defense of their national independence.

Our people express profound sympathy with the warm support for the people of Namibia and other nations in southern Africa who are fighting against the domination of the South African racists and for independence, freedom and equality among nationalities.

We strongly condemn the banditlike attacks launched by South Africa against Angola and unreservedly support any measure taken by the latter to duly counter the aggressors.

With deep sympathy our people keenly follow the struggle movement of the working class and laboring people in the developed capitalist countries. For more than a year now, a broad and vigorous mass movement, unprecedented since World War II, has surged in nearly all Western and northern European and North American countries. This movement is against the belligerent and interventionist policy of the Reagan administration, which is stirring up international tension and causing the situation in Europe to become extremely dangerous.

Recent developments in the situation in a number of European countries -- such as France and Greece -- show that the banner of peace, democracy and social progress is capable of

rallying the large mass of the working class and laboring people in the struggle to gradually push back state monopolistic capitalism and to achieve victory one by one, thus creating favorable conditions for continuously advancing the revolutionary cause of the peoples in these countries.

Our people hope that in the coming days the struggle movement of the working class and laboring people in the developed capitalist countries will score even greater victories in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

The Vietnamese people advocate a policy of establishing good-neighbor relations with the ASEAN countries, being always ready to cooperate with these countries in coordinating efforts to build Southeast Asia into a zone of peace and stability. The present relations between Vietnam and the other Indochinese countries and the five ASEAN countries, however, are stumbling on the obstacles erected by Beijing and Washington to benefit China's expansionist and hegemonist policy and the U.S. imperialists' interventionist policy toward this region.

The so-called international conference on Kampuchea, which was staged by China and the United States, is a gross interference in the internal affairs of an independent and sovereign country to oppose the revival of the Kampuchean people and is the product of the hostile policy of China and the United States toward the three Indochinese countries.

We hope that for the benefit of their own basic interests and for the sake of peace and security in this region and the world, the ASEAN countries will agree to a dialogue and negotiations to resolve the problems in the relations between the two groups of countries in order to advance toward achieving a Southeast Asian zone of peace, stability, friendship and cooperation.

The Vietnamese people are resolutely struggling to defeat all plots of annexation and aggression which are concocted by the Chinese authorities against our country. Nevertheless, we will always preserve intact our friendly sentiments for the Chinese people and firmly maintain the policy of friendship and good-neighbor relations toward the Chinese people. We advocate the policy of restoring normal relations between the two countries on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence, respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and settlement of contentious matters through negotiation. We have repeatedly proposed the resumption of talks unilaterally suspended by China, but the Chinese side has always rejected our proposals.

The Chinese leaders have unswervingly and frenziedly pursued big-nation expansionism and hegemony. They have not renounced the scheme to put Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea within the sphere of Chinese control, considering the three Indochinese countries their primary target of annexation and aggression on the path of expansion into Southeast Asia. They are making new steps in colluding with the United States in order to implement this strategic scheme. This is the true cause of increasingly tense relations between the two countries. It is at the same time the factor which undermines peace and stability in Southeast Asia. The Chinese rulers must bear full responsibility for the serious consequences of this situation.

We advocate the policy of establishing and expanding the normal relations on the state level and in the economic, cultural and technological fields with all countries regardless of their political and social regimes and on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty, and of equality and mutual benefits. Such relations have been established between our country and many countries in Western and northern Europe, South America and other regions.

Due to Washington's hostile policy, our relations with the United States cannot be improved.

As a UN member, we maintain relations with many UN-sponsored international organizations.

Our people will always treasure the valuable support and warm feelings which the peoples and governments of friendly countries as well as many international organizations have given us.

We believe that in the future the relations between our country and the aforementioned countries and organizations will be maintained and even further developed for the sake of peace, friendship and cooperation among nations.

Part VI -- To Raise the Party's Fighting Capacity

Dear comrades, ours is a staunch revolutionary party. In the new, difficult and complex fight to transform the old society, build socialism and defend the fatherland, our party continues to enhance its revolutionary and scientific character. The general line of socialist revolution and the line of building a socialist economy laid down by the fourth national congress have been tested by life and proved to be correct. The party's unity and oneness of mind for the sake of the building of socialism, the defense of the fatherland, and a resolute fight against the aggressive schemes of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, have been increasingly consolidated. Through the implementation of the resolution of the fourth national congress, the party organizations and state management bodies have got more experience and new ability in economic and social management. Entering a new fight, the broad masses of party cadres and members have preserved their good revolutionary qualities, and their political standards, cultural, scientific and technological knowledge; and their capacities regarding leadership and management have been raised to some extent.

However, the realities over the past few years have also clearly shown the party's weakness and shortcomings in economic and social leadership, as manifested in deficiencies with regard to the implementation and concretization of the party's lines, in practical organizational capacity, in the style of leadership presenting features not suited to the requirements of the new stage. Qualities and shortcomings in the political leadership of the party are closely linked to the qualities and shortcomings in the work to build it ideologically and organizationally.

We have made efforts to unceasingly enhance the working class character, the vanguard character, the leading ability and fighting capacity of the party, to perfect its organizational system step by step from the central down to grassroots level, and to improve the quality of its cadres and members in combination with the strengthening of the state apparatus and the promoting of the role of the mass organizations. However, slowness in correcting the shortcomings in economic and social leadership and management, along with prolonged defects in the party's ideological and organizational work, especially manifestations of the decrease in revolutionary qualities, fighting will and sense of responsibility among some party cadres and members, including responsible cadres at various levels, in various branches, have reduced the effectiveness of the party organizations' leadership, greatly hindered the implementation of the resolutions and directives of the party and the laws of the state, and adversely affected the party's prestige among the masses.

At present, the historic tasks incumbent on the party are very heavy. The struggle for the building of socialism and the defense of the socialist fatherland is going on with an acute and complex character. Our people's enemies of all kinds at home and abroad are spearheading their attacks against our party, trying by every means to wreck it ideologically and organizationally. The situation in the party, the historic tasks incumbent on it, the new circumstances of the struggle bring further into the limelight the particular importance of party-building work: It is necessary to bring about at any cost a strong turn for the better in the quality of the party's leadership and in its fighting capacity. The key task in the building of the party now is to continue enhancing its working class and vanguard character, build it into a politically, ideologically and nationally strong party with a view to ensuring a successful implementation of its lines, enhancing its capacity to lead the building of socialism and the defense of the fatherland, ensuring that it constantly maintains its

revolutionary and scientific character and remains a really pure party endowed with a high fighting capacity and entertaining close connections with the masses. To this end, it is absolutely necessary to renovate the party-building work.

The raising of the party's leadership capacity and the effectiveness of its leadership now has the following contents: The responsible party and state bodies must have a thorough comprehension of the party's lines, concretize in time the lines and the resolutions of this congress, and on the basis of the party's lines and resolutions, work out correct plans, policies and measures both on the building of socialism and the defense of the fatherland; enhance their practical organizational capabilities, change the inappropriate forms of organization and methods of work, build in all branches and at all levels a mechanism for the party's leadership, people's mastery and state's management; choose and appoint cadres who have good moral qualities and who are equal to the tasks of the new stage, primarily to key leading and managerial posts in important branches and establishments; organize and mobilize the masses into a buoyant revolutionary movement. The raising of the leading capacity as mentioned above must be the overall result of a thorough comprehension of the party's lines, especially the grasping and applying of the laws governing the advance to socialism in our country as reflected therein, the drawing of sound lessons from experiences at home and abroad, a required knowledge of management, science and technology, a scientific method of thinking, and constant responsiveness to the new, a good method of organization to go deep into practice, to get a timely knowledge of the requirements and aspirations of the masses to detect and enhance their creative experience.

The party's leadership must be strengthened in an all-round manner, but special importance must be attached to economic leadership: The entire party must go deep into the economic front, improve the style of leadership over the economy, enhance its capacity and efficiency in leading the economy.

To improve the quality of economic leadership and concretize the party's lines, it is necessary to continue reviewing the economic work over the past period, and bringing out advanced models in agriculture, industry, capital construction, communications and transport, distribution and circulation. From these lessons and practical experiences, we shall work out correct policies, find appropriate specific forms from the organization of labor, the management apparatus to the organization and mode of business operations, and so on. Without detailed research and organization work to achieve the above concrete task it is not possible to translate the party's economic line into reality.

In economic leadership, we must, on the one hand, commend those localities and establishments which have shown great initiative and creativeness in implementing the party's lines and the policies of the Central Committee in keeping with local conditions, and which have managed to lay down correct policies and measures to increase labor productivity and economic effectiveness, develop production, and improve the people's livelihood. It is necessary to encourage those cadres who are responsible to the new and who can consider problems from the new point of view; detect at an early date what has become obsolete in the old policies, forms of organization and management; and know how to care for the young shoots newly arising in life. On the other hand, we should overcome and prevent such deviations as liberalism, parochialism, sectionalism, violation of the principle of democratic centralism, loosening the struggle between the two paths, departure from the party's line of socialist construction and socialist transformation.

While going deep into the tasks of economic and cultural building, transformation and development which are still very new tasks, our party does not relax, even for a minute, the task of consolidating and strengthening national defense, maintaining political security, public order and social safety, a task requiring the party to enhance further its leading capacity and standards.

The party must strengthen and improve its ideological leadership. The basic task of the ideological work is to arm our entire party, people and army with a basic knowledge

about scientific socialism, promote a staunch will, a firm determination and the required knowledge to fulfill both strategic tasks: to build socialism and to defend the fatherland.

The ideological work must give our party cadres, party members and people, first and foremost, the principal leading cadres in all branches, localities and establishments a profound comprehension of the general line of socialist revolution and the line of building a socialist economy in the transition period, and a resolve to strive for their implementation consciously, with the highest revolutionary ardor of collective masters. A weak point of the ideological work in the recent period is its failure to equip party cadres and members with the necessary knowledge, give them a thorough grasp of the party's line and policies, and make these lines and policies widely known to the people; to bring about a broad consensus based on full theoretical and practical grounds; to strongly criticize the views at variance with the party's lines, and to give timely answers to the practical and concrete problems which have arisen in the implementation of these lines.

The explanation of the lines does not stop at general views. It is necessary to give demonstrations with scientific arguments and vivid realities, to help everybody clearly and deeply understand the party's lines; to closely link the bringing about of a thorough comprehension of the party's lines to the explaining of the specific policies of the party and state; to explain the present situation of our revolution, affirming the great victories recorded on the national defense front and the achievements on the front of economic construction and cultural development, thereby instilling in everybody enthusiasm and pride at the same time, pointing out the difficulties, clearly analyzing the causes of those encountered in production and life; to severely criticize the shortcomings in leading and managerial work, and clearly indicate the orientations and measures to overcome difficulties. We must make clear that the struggle for socialist construction and socialist transformation is an arduous, complex and protracted class struggle between the two paths and bring everybody to a firm socialist stand in this struggle.

The ideological work must enable everybody to see clearly without the least confusion that the direct and dangerous enemy of our nation is the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists who are colluding with the U.S. imperialists. It must give a clear realization of their aggressive and disruptive schemes and acts against our country, enhance vigilance, secure a thorough grasp of the party's lines, bring about a constant state of combat-readiness and a will to fight in a self-sacrificing spirit to defend the fatherland. It is necessary to enhance the sharpness and organizational coherence of the struggle to rebuff the psychological warfare contentions of the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists, the imperialists and their agents; to popularize the party's views; and to ensure success at every hour, every minute. To concentrate on criticizing and condemning Chinese expansionism and hegemonism is the main content of our current struggle against Maoism.

The ideological work must be strongly oriented at enhancing the revolutionary qualities of the party cadres and members, combating individualism and opportunism in all forms, and resolutely eliminating manifestations, including political degradation, organizational indiscipline, degradation in the way of life, bureaucratization in the style of work and conservatism in the approach to things. In this question, it is necessary to closely combine ideological education, self-criticism and criticism with organizational measures, increased control, strict enforcement of party discipline; and to combine ideological education within the party with the struggle against negative manifestations in state bodies and in society.

After the fifth national congress, a deep political education drive is to be carried out in the entire party, with the study of congress documents being taken as a source for educating party cadres and members on the party's lines and policies, carrying out serious self-criticism and criticism, criticizing wrong thoughts, enhancing the revolutionary will and sense of responsibility by the communists in the face of the new situation and tasks.

It is necessary to achieve a good organization of scientific-technological and especially economic studies for party cadres, party members and ordinary people, party cadres and members to be educated in a style of economic leadership, characterized by both ardent, diligent revolutionary spirit and practical businesslike considerations of effectiveness and aptitude to detect and turn to account the potential of the country.

In ideological work, it is necessary to enhance combativity, to carry out a deep study, analysis and criticism of manifestations of the petty bourgeois ideology, resolutely to oppose the bourgeois ideology, the leftovers of the neocolonialist culture and the vestiges of the feudal ideology. The struggles against these nonproletarian ideologies must be carried out in an organized way, with various measures, under concrete guidance, and in constant, close connection with the implementation of the tasks of socialist construction and socialist transformation.

The vitality and effectiveness of ideological work lie in its revolutionary and scientific spirit. Propaganda must be truthful: Tell the people the truth, what has been done and what has not, the advantages and difficulties, the achievements and shortcomings. Only through ideological work carried out on a scientific basis, free from subjectivism, onesidedness, superficiality and oversimplification will it be possible to wage a sharp and effective struggle against all erroneous, hostile ideologies.

The mass media must be put to a better and more effective use. At the same time, it is necessary to strengthen and improve the political and ideological work carried out on a regular basis by party cells. Every party member, every party cadre is dutybound to explain the party's lines and policies, dispel the misgivings of the masses, expose in time hostile distortions, defend the party's lines, promote and maintain the confidence of the masses in our country's revolutionary cause.

Marxist-Leninist education must be broadened and improved in order to gradually provide our party cadres, party members and people with a scientific world outlook, a revolutionary conception of life, and a systematic knowledge about the new achievements in theoretical work of ours and the fraternal parties, with an eye to active participation in the working out and creative application of the party's lines. It is necessary to carry out an all-round reform of the theoretical and political education work in the schools of the party, the state and the mass organizations with regard to the contents and methods of teaching, and the training of lecturers.

To strengthen the theoretical work and improve the quality of social science research, closely linking them to the study, working out and popularization of the lines and policies of the party and state; to bring into play the role and potential of political science in the education of working people in socialist ideology and in the study of the question of how to improve economic and social management. In the forthcoming period, it is necessary to undertake profound studies on the laws governing the period of transition from small production straight to socialism, on the party's economic strategy for the next 10 years, on the system of socialist collective mastery, on the mechanism of party's leadership, people's mastery and state's management, on party building in the context of a ruling party, on a number of international problems such as the new developments of three revolutionary currents, the present global strategy of the U.S. imperialists, criticism of Maoism and other anticommunist ideologies.

To actively train theoreticians; perfect the institute of Marxism-Leninism, the Nguyen Ai Quoc party school and the existing theoretical institutions; build a number of research institutes; and achieve a close coordination of the scientific research institutions of the party and state in the carrying out of theoretical research programs.

The party must especially strengthen organizational leadership, a decisive link for the successful implementation of its lines and policies. First and foremost, it is necessary to exercise good leadership over the building and consolidation of the socialist state, because today the party leads the revolution mainly through the state. In the

mechanism of the party's leadership, the people's mastery and the state's management, the leading capacity of the party organization is manifested in not relaxing leadership over important questions of lines and policies, while avoiding to get involved in concrete managerial business or to encroach on the powers and responsibilities of state bodies. The party organization in a locality or a grassroots unit should know how to correctly select the affairs belonging to the party's leadership to improve the methods and forms of leadership of the party organization over the state bodies in all branches, at all levels.

The party must devote great efforts to the building of the contingent of party and state cadres; first of all, leading and managerial cadres. The quality of the cadres is a decisive condition for successful leadership. The leading and managerial cadres of the party and state must have good political qualities and their knowledge and capacity for work must be equal to the requirements of the new tasks. On the economic front, the cadres must be able to implement the party's economic line and successfully to carry out the economic and social targets laid down by the fifth congress of the party.

In cadre work, it is necessary to make correct choices and rightly assign key cadres at all levels, in all branches. A cadre must not be given many jobs concurrently; a correct combination must be made of good and capable cadres in different age groups. Young cadres, women and national minority cadres, who are good and capable and who have grown to maturity in the revolutionary movement of the masses should be actively brought into the leading bodies of the party and state. In assessing cadres, we should overcome the tendency to one-sided emphasis either on past work and family background or on academic diplomas and degrees.

The promotion and employment of cadres must go along with their planned training. Recently, we have had a lot of deficiencies in the training of the party's leading cadres at various levels; we have failed to lay down specific qualifications for leading cadres at each level; we have been slow in improving the programs for training leading cadres. Many leading cadres have not been given timely, systematic and good training. With regard to leading cadres of the party, especially the key leading comrades of party committees, the knowledge of political theory and the general knowledge must be turned into a scientific method of thinking, a broad political outlook and the capability of sagaciously and accurately analyzing the facts happening in life, of organizing and running the apparatus, of persuading and mobilizing the masses.

It is urgently necessary to consolidate the existing contingent of cadres; to strengthen the training of leading and managerial cadres; to renovate the contents and methods of teaching and learning in the party schools and the managerial schools of the state; to raise the scientific standards in the study of cadre policy and speedily work out programs of training leading cadres at all levels in all branches, in districts and important economic establishments.

The party must organize good control work, one of its main functions of leadership. In the recent period, control work has not been given due attention, has not been well organized, and has not become a strict regulation. There are party committees which have adopted decisions, then stopped there without organizing and controlling their implementation. As a result, many works have been conducted with delays, correct decisions have not been fully implemented and misconceptions have been slow to be corrected. Now more than ever, it is necessary to strengthen control work and to increase its effectiveness. Control should be exercised over the implementation of the party's lines and policies at all levels, in all branches; over the preservation of the revolutionary qualities and over the activities of the party cadres, party members and employees in the state apparatus. We must defend good, capable and promising cadres; quickly detect new factors; correct deficiencies in time so as to ensure concrete and sagacious leadership at all times.

Pursuant to the guiding principles for party building laid down by the fourth party congress, we have achieved important results in raising the quality of the party

membership; strengthening the primary party organizations and consolidating the party's leading apparatus at all levels.

At present, our party has 1,727,784 members, as of 1 December 1981, working in 35,146 primary organizations. In the new development of the revolution, the great majority of party members have clearly shown the revolutionary quality and creative capacity of the communists. On the fighting front to defend the country, maintain political security, public order and social safety; on the front of building, transforming and developing economy, culture, education and science; as well as on the diplomatic front, tens of thousands of party members have set examples of sacrifice and dedication to the fatherland and the people, and fulfilled their duties in an outstanding manner. The political and cultural standards of party members have been raised. Over one million party members have been given a chance to make political and theoretical studies according to various programs. At present, our party has nearly 500,000 members who have graduated from secondary general education school, and over 200,000 members who have graduated from institutions of higher learning or from secondary vocational schools.

However, at a time when the entire party, army and people are staunchly striving for the lofty cause of the fatherland and of socialism, a number of party members have failed to preserve their revolutionary quality, have lost their fighting will, have deserted their duties, and have violated the policies of the party and the laws of the state. Such persons have in fact estranged themselves from the party and the revolution, and have damaged the prestige of the party. Over the past five years, our party has removed from its ranks corrupted, degenerated party members. We are right to remove from the party in this way those persons who do not meet the requirements of party membership. However, in many places where party cards have been issued, not a few party members have not been allowed to receive their cards. There are persons who clearly do not deserve to be party members, but the party branches have not firmly removed them from the party.

With a view to keeping the party's ranks pure, it is necessary after this congress to resolutely bring out of its ranks as soon as possible all opportunists, persons with paralyzed revolutionary will, exploiters, traffickers, speculators, embezzlers, bribe-takers, bullies. Those party members whose political consciousness is too low and who make no progress in education by the party organization are also to be removed from the party. This must be done with great firmness and a high sense of urgency, but under a close guidance of the Secretariat and party committees, in order to guard against misconceptions.

All party committees must base themselves on the requirements regarding the quality and capacity of party members in the new period and strive to raise their quality. Every party member, whatever his or her job, whether as a worker, a public servant, a cooperative member, or an army or security fighter, must have the virtues and capacity of a communist militant.

The virtues and capacity of a party member are now primarily manifested in the spirit of revolutionary offensive, a firm confidence in the victory of the socialist revolution and the cause of defending the fatherland, an unswerving attitude in face of difficulties, a persevering endeavor of every instant to make practical contributions to socialist construction and socialist transformation, to the development of production, the stabilization and gradual improvement of the people's living conditions. On the national defense front, party members must show not only a spirit of valiant fighting on the frontline, but also high vigilance against the Chinese expansionists' and hegemonists' disruptive actions in the political, economic and ideological fields. They must not adopt an indifferent or evasive attitude nor content themselves with enumerating or complaining about negative manifestations; on the contrary, they must take an active part in the struggle between the two paths, the fight against negative manifestations and tendencies to spontaneous capitalism to defend the people's right to mastery, consolidate and strengthen the positions of socialism, and safeguard the purity of the

party. Every party member in whatever office must review his or her style of work, get in close touch with the masses, go deep into the mass movement, listen attentively to the views of the masses and accept their creative experiences, constantly show a high sense of discipline and organization, preserve the unity and oneness of mind within the party, oppose wrongful views, defend the truth and the party, maintain a healthy, honest life, and resist the temptations of a luxurious, depraved way of life.

The virtues of party members are also manifested now in a passion for studies, a thirst for knowledge, and strenuous efforts to increase their knowledge of socialism, the party's lines and policies, and the laws of the state, and enhance their expertise in the their current jobs. Conceit, failing to study, wasting time and failing to constantly strive to raise one's standards in all fields also constitute for a party member a serious manifestation of moral degeneration.

The work of educating, steeling and supervising party members must be linked to the revolutionary movement of the masses, the tasks and powers entrusted thereto, the implementation of the party's lines and policies, the observance of the laws of the state, the improvement of the organization and management of enterprises, cooperatives, offices or units. Giving the masses an opportunity to recommend candidates for party membership, to make suggestions on removing from the party those elements not fulfilling the required criteria and to criticize party members and supervise their activities constitutes a very precious lesson in party building. It must be summed up adequately and applied widely on a regular basis in all party organizations. The enhancing of the activeness and leading effect of party cells and party members cannot be separated from the amending of irrational policies and regulations, of unsuitable managerial organizations. On the other hand, it is necessary to raise the quality of the political education given to party members, renovate the way party cells conduct meetings, and to carry out serious self-criticism and criticism.

In five years, the party has recruited over 370,000 new members, 85.9 percent of whom are members of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union. These are very good young men and women who have been made the subject of the observation of the masses and recommended by them for admission into the party. This class of new party members has rapidly brought into play its action and given the party a new vitality.

Our party's reserves are very abundant. Hundreds of thousands of prominent young workers, collective peasants and socialist intellectuals have unceasingly appeared in the revolutionary movement of the masses. It is necessary to broaden the ranks of the party and to recruit many new, good party members. Attention is to be paid to those places where there are still too few party members, such as the provinces of Nam Bo. More importance is to be attached to the recruitment of party members of worker stock. We should not be narrow-minded and close the door for fear of difficulties. If we carry out good work in recruiting new members and bring into the party prominent elements who are conscious of the party's ideals, and who have been trained and tested, and who furthermore possess political, cultural, scientific and technological knowledge, the quality of the party organization will be raised. We should not lower the standards for party members. The utmost efforts are to be made to prevent opportunist elements from infiltrating into the party.

Over the past few years, the party committees at provincial, municipal and district levels have paid great attention to consolidating the primary organizations of the party, have been in close contact with the grassroots and sent more cadres to the grassroots level. As a result, the number of strong grassroots organizations has been on the increase and that of weak ones, on the decrease. What is cause for rejoicing is the apparition of more and more primary party branches in the countryside and in enterprises, which are very good at leading production, struggle and organization of the people's life, and which have brought into existence outstanding models, having the effect of boosting the general movement in the whole country. However, there are still no small number of primary branches which have failed to improve their leadership and to bring about a revolutionary movement of the masses, and which have been working

in a slow, passive manner. There are provincial, municipal and district party committees which are still guiding the grassroots in a constraining, rigid way, and attaching no importance to enhancing the primary branches' initiative, creativity, or their role as masters. On the other hand, there are also provincial and district party committees which fail to supervise closely and on a regular basis the activities of the grassroots. With a view to enhancing the effectiveness of the primary branches' leadership, it is necessary to define a mode of activity for each kind of primary branch; to perfect the system of guidance for primary party organizations to fit with the new situation, actively train secretaries of party committees of primary organizations and cells on the method of leadership.

Special importance is to be attached to the consolidation of party cells; the party cells must do a good job in allotting work to, supervising and steeling each party member, carrying out propaganda and education work with each nonparty individual. To amend the content of the meetings of party cells to conform to the party's position and responsibility of political leadership, it is not allowed to bring down the meetings of party cells to the level of meetings of a mass organization or a production organization. Each party cell must take specific steps to educate and enhance the quality of every party member, to ensure that no party member indulges in corrupt actions, bullies the masses, acts at variance with the party's lines and policies, and violates the laws of the state.

To strengthen the party committees, the leading core of party organizations at all levels, is a very important task of party building. The party committees must be able to work out correct, sagacious decisions, giving correct answers to the problems raised by life. To this end, they must strive to raise their standards in all fields, especially to get a deep insight into economic and cultural questions, and those concerning the organization of the people's life. In addition, they must organize the successful implementation of the policies already laid down. This requires that they raise their organizational capacity, know how to build and run the apparatus, bring into play the managerial effectiveness of the state bodies, and carry out good work in mass mobilization, to improve the forms and methods of work in keeping the increasing requirements of leadership, and to do away with the small producer's thinking and handicraft-like mode of work.

Party committees must have a rational size and composition to ensure an all-round leadership over all sectors of activity. Their composition must be a combination of politically mature cadres and cadres versed in economics, science and technology and having organizational and managerial capabilities. However, party committee members must meet the required standards in moral quality and leading capacity; they must be cadres absolutely loyal to the revolution and the party's lines, quite capable of discussing and deciding policies together with the committee and organizing a good implementation thereof. Party committees must not be turned into coalition bodies. A number of key comrades in party committees must concentrate on party work, ensuring party leadership and control, and undertake no administrative work.

Party committees must care for the building and perfecting of the party apparatus: Choose and assign good and able cadres to strengthen its commissions, put to good use and enhance the capacity and strength of the apparatus. To renovate the method and work regime, first and foremost; to improve the information work of the party with a view to making it possible for its leading bodies to have at all moments a timely and accurate knowledge about the actual situation; to renovate the method of preparing and issuing decisions; and to achieve strict compliance with the regulations about organizing their implementation. Party committees must promote among the cadres a planned, methodical style of work which consists in abiding by the mandatory functions and regulations, showing constant concern for effectiveness.

Since the fourth national congress, in face of the new trial of the revolutionary struggle and the Chinese expansionists and hegemonists' disruptive and divisive schemes and tricks, our entire party, from the Central Committee down to party cells, cadres and

ordinary party members, has tightened its ranks, strengthened its unity, and preserved its unity of will and action. The party's unity and oneness of mind have been clearly manifested in the activities of the Central Committee. The correct resolutions and decisions of the Central Committee and the Political Bureau are precisely the product of collective intelligence, of the unity of will and action in the entire party.

The unity and oneness of mind of our party rely on a firm basis, namely, Marxism-Leninism, the party's correct political lines and the principle of democratic centralism in the organization and life of the party. Therefore, to preserve and strengthen the party's unity and oneness of mind, in all branches, all levels, it is necessary to deeply grasp at all times the party's lines and policies, to have a full and accurate appraisal of the actual situation; to make a clear analysis of the qualities and shortcomings in the party's leadership; to promote democracy and highlight discipline to carry out serious self-criticism and criticism in all party committees and cells; and to fight individualism, indifference and irresponsibility.

Our entire party, every party branch, every party cadre and member are resolved to do their utmost to preserve and enhance the tradition of unity and oneness of mind of the Communist Party of Vietnam, to carry into effect President Ho Chi Minh's behest: "Unity is an extremely precious tradition of our party and people. All comrades, from the Central Committee down to the cells, must preserve the unity and oneness of mind in the party as the apple of their eye." We are resolved to enhance our vigilance, to smash all disruptive schemes and tricks of the enemy, to bring about an increasing unanimity of view within the party, to mobilize the strength of our entire party and people in the new fight to successfully carry out the new tasks laid down by this congress.

Dear comrade delegates, The fifth congress is a new milestone in our party's struggle for national independence and socialism, a struggle which is protracted and arduous but also full of exploits. The new period confronts our party and people with tremendous, complicated and heavy tasks. We have full confidence and strength to successfully carry out these tasks.

We have overcome the perplexity which is hard to avoid when entering the new stage. We have made more concrete and rich the revolutionary lines laid down by the party's fourth congress. We have gained a deeper comprehension of our country and people. We have identified the enemy and clearly seen the obstacles on our path. We have gained a more accurate and more concrete appraisal both of our possibilities and strong points and of our difficulties and weaknesses. The lessons of experience drawn from the practice of building socialism and defending the fatherland over the past five years are very useful to us. All this, which we could not have had five years ago, constitute our most valuable revolutionary equipment as we enter the new stage of struggle.

At present, our people's material and moral forces are growing ceaselessly; the revolutionary prospects are bright and good. But there are still many difficulties ahead. The requirements with regard to the people's living conditions, the defense of the country, the building of a material-technological basis for the march forward, are particularly pressing and great.

However, our party has been steeled in the fight against difficulties and has never balked at them. It has all the required strength to overcome all difficulties, and fulfill all revolutionary tasks in the new period.

That is the strength of the traditional unity and oneness of mind within the entire party and the strength of the unshakable unity between the party and people. The resolutions of this congress will surely consolidate further the unity of the party and strengthen further the flesh-and-blood ties between the people and the party.

That is the strength of the international solidarity which has linked and will always closely link our party and people to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the fraternal Soviet people, the revolutionary vanguard of our times; to the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos and the fraternal Lao people; to the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and the fraternal Kampuchea people; to the communist and workers' parties and peoples of the other fraternal countries in the socialist community; to all communist and workers' parties and to the three revolutionary currents in the world.

With such a party, such a people, such international relationships, we shall fulfill any task, overcome any difficulty, and defeat any enemy.

To successfully build socialism in a country predominantly of small production, to defeat all schemes and acts of expansionism and hegemonism on the part of the Chinese reactionaries acting in collusion with the U.S. imperialists, to defend national independence and peace in Indochina and Southeast Asia, is a very heavy, yet very glorious mission that history has assigned our people and party. We are resolved to level all difficulties, march forward with enthusiasm and pride, and fulfill our duty to our nation and to the revolutionary cause of the world's peoples.

Under the party's invincible banner let our entire party, people and army eagerly march forward!

Long live the heroic Vietnamese people!

Long live the glorious Communist Party of Vietnam!

The great President Ho Chi Minh lives forever in our cause!

All for the socialist fatherland, for the happiness of the people!

Our lofty cause will triumph!

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